

THE SOCIAL STUDIES



Continuing

The Historical Outlook

Volume XXV, Number 6

October, 1934

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The Social Studies

Continuing The Historical Outlook

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Editorial office: 1004 Physics Building, Columbia University, New York City.

Business office: 1021 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Subscription \$2.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents a copy; membership in National Council for the Social Studies including Yearbook and subscription \$3.00 a year.

Published monthly, except June, July, August and September, by McKinley Publishing Co., 1021 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Copyright, 1934, McKinley Publishing Co. Entered as second-class matter, October 26, 1909, at Post-Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879.

Additional entry as 2nd Class Matter at the Post-Office at Menasha, Wis. Printed in U.S.A.

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The Social Studies

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VOLUME XXV, NUMBER 6

OCTOBER, 1934

The Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies in the Schools

A series of papers and reviews on the final volume, "Conclusions and Recommendations" (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), of the Report of the Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies in the Schools, will be published and reprinted from other periodicals during the current academic year. Teachers of the social studies, members of different professions, and members of the Commission will contribute to this series. Addresses dealing with the volume presented at several meetings of social-studies teachers will be included. It is anticipated that the different papers and reviews will include interpretations, critiques, and discussions of various aspects of the findings and recommendations of the Commission.—The Editors.

I. Historians Turn Prophets*

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
New York School of Social Work

Conclusions and Recommendations: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies appointed by the American Historical Association. Scribner's. 168 pp. Price \$1.25 postpaid of *Survey Graphic*.

Whenever a clear and courageous word is spoken these days our spirits are quickened and our energies released. In the midst of groping, muddling, and trial-and-error opportunism one yearns for the sight of an open path, an inviting plan and a clear-cut order to march forward. Happily, such a word has been spoken. A group of American scholars have presented us with a notable document in which they have diagnosed our social sickness, provided an outline of social health, and suggested ways of gearing our vast educational enterprise to the task of realizing the new order.

Five years ago the American Historical Association appointed a Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools. The work of the Commission has already resulted in the publication of a number of arresting documents, but its final volume dealing with conclusions and recommendations soars to a high point. Fortunately, the Commission's investi-

gations were conducted during five of the most fateful years of American history. And, still more fortunately, the members of this body found the courage to view the events of these so-called depression years in a perspective which is daringly realistic.¹

The relation between education and the social problem cannot be clarified until education is located within the context of a frame of reference which is both realistic and idealistic. We must know, first of all, what impedes us, what lies at the bottom of our frustrations,—in short, why our contemporary society fails to function satisfactorily. Representatives of radical organizations have been performing this critical task for us during the entire span of the latter stage of industrial capitalism. Henceforth one will not need to go to Union Square or read *The New Masses* to become acquainted with the indictment against our present society. Instead one may now find its basic outline in this respectable book in cloth covers, published by a respectable house called Scribner's, written by respectable American scholars, and all paid for by the highly respectable Carnegie Corporation.

Radical thinkers will, I believe, agree with the Commission's indictment of our present social order. Its critical affirmations are simple, straightforward and incisive. We have been attempting to manage our necessarily interdependent economic enterprise with incentives and ideas derived from nineteenth-century individualism. We have hoped that private initiative, private property and private profits should somehow under a system of *laissez-faire* and individualism emanate in the form of a rough social justice. Instead, the consequence has been the growth of a prodigious capacity for production and a correspondingly poor system of distribution which leads to chronic unemployment, poverty, an unmanageable debt structure, racketeering and general economic demoralization. On the technological-economic plane we have been moving steadily toward integration and collectivism; on the level of morality, values and culture we have remained stubbornly individualistic. The inevitable result of this gap between technics and culture is epitomized in the present economic crisis.

From this point onward the Commission's report will lose the adherence of radical thinkers. The formula for a planned society which is next evolved represents an attempt to combine economic collectivism with cultural freedom. Members of the Commission want a collective society without regimentation; they wish to preserve and build upon the precious heritage of liberty which they believe to be indigenous to American life. They foresee a planned society which may be thought of as a fulfillment of the historic principles and ideals of American democracy. This section of the report takes the form of an earnest attempt to view social change in terms of the American setting, that is, to steer a course between Fascism on the one hand and Communism on the other. These polarized alternatives do not seem congenial to the American temper and would, if followed, cause the loss of some of the most precious elements in our culture.

Those who believe that fundamental social change can only be brought about by means of revolution, force and coercion will reject the Commission's formulation. But, they should remember that the members of this Commission are educators. Their ultimate faith is based upon the assumption that realistic social change is finally and in essence an alteration of opinions, attitudes and habits resident in individuals, and that such reorientation of the individual becomes effective and durable only through education. Those who believe in education may be wrong in the face of the immediate situation, but in the long run and in terms of science their position is unassailable. That which is achieved through the use of force must ultimately be done over and made secure by educative means.

Before proceeding to further interpretation it may prove fruitful to restate the underlying logic of the Commission's report. Its major proposition may be stated thus: Education, especially education in the social sciences, cannot become an active instrument for social change until its purpose, its methods, its content and its human agents are located within the context of a social frame of reference. For the ends of the Commission, this frame of reference consists primarily of a bold outline of a new society founded upon economic collectivism and cultural individualism. Once education is thus located within such a frame of reference, its very definition is altered. Hence the Commission proceeds to define education as "a form of action on the part of some particular social group." In other words, education is not a mere form of contemplation taking place in a social vacuum; it always expresses some variety of social philosophy, even though this at times occurs by negation. The chief difficulty with our present system of education lies in the fact that it serves the privileged interests of a society which is disintegrating, disappearing. Consequently, education lacks vigor and vitality. It may once again become a quickening force but only by relating itself actively on the side of the emerging society.

Once this new definition of education is admitted, it becomes clearly necessary to revamp our conceptions of the content, the materials and the methods of education. In dealing with these latter aspects of the problem, readers should keep in mind that this Commission is dealing, not with education as a whole, but with education as related to the social studies, which include the subjects of history, economics, politics, sociology, geography, anthropology and psychology. The main function of these studies, according to the Commission, is "the acquisition of accurate knowledge of, and insight into, man and society." This special function of the social studies must now be viewed in relation to the comprehensive purpose of public-school education which, according to the Commission, is "to prepare the younger generation for life in a highly complex industrial society that is committed to the ideal of democracy and equality of opportunity for personal growth." Combining these two sets of purposes, the Commission proceeds to advocate a plan of social-science instruction beginning with the kindergarten and extending to the junior college, and thereafter to be associated with a program of continuing or adult education. But the Commission is not recommending a vast series of subject-matter courses; on the contrary, it envisages the fruition of its hopes for social education in the form of a total curriculum which is society-centered, and in which the social studies penetrate all other subject-matter. Public-school education is conceived as being

capable of furnishing pupils with tested knowledge concerning man and society, but more than that, it is presumed to be capable of affording these pupils with the opportunity of participating in valid social experiences.

Up to this point the report does no violence to that conception of education which goes by the name of "progressive" and which is popularly associated with the name of John Dewey. When the Commission tackles the question of teaching method, however, it embarks upon an enterprise of criticism of the Dewey-progressive philosophy, at least of the more popular interpretation of this philosophy. It insists that purpose alone gives meaning to education and that all considerations of method must be viewed in relation to purpose, goals, ends. It believes that pedagogy has been over-emphasized, that methodology has become a sort of modern sophistry, and that we must return to the ideal of tested knowledge and scholarly competence. Good teaching is once more seen as the natural consequence of the good teacher, who in turn defies analysis. Intelligence tests and other methods of testing are roundly condemned. The Commission insists that the factors dealt with by these new-type tests are not susceptible of mathematical treatment, and that the social results of social-science teaching will be measured finally, not in the classroom, but in the "arena of social and political life." The new teachers who are to be recruited for the grand program of social-science instruction (since it must be granted that those who now hold the strategic posts in the public-school system are unfitted) are to be trained, not as mechanical engineers of pedagogy, but rather as artists, poets, statesmen and spiritual leaders of mankind. This new teacher must have a different status in the community; he must, first of all, enjoy economic security and complete freedom to teach social truth; he must be a participant in social processes as well as a thorough-going scholar.

Finally, the new program of social education hinges upon the locus of power in public-school affairs. Boards of education will need to be made truly representative; teachers will need to organize and invent instruments for exercising real power in school administration. Professional school administrators will need a new type of training in which emphasis is placed upon social science, social philosophy and statecraft; such administrative techniques as have grown to prominence in later years in the form of business accounting and engineering must be relegated to subordinate positions.

The above account of the Commission's report, although greatly condensed, will, I trust, provide readers with a true conception of its scope and intention. My own enthusiasm for the report is so high that I am inclined to believe that it represents one

of the most significant documents in the recent history of public education. As a reviewer, I cannot, however, allow my enthusiasm to cancel out certain critical essentials. Taken as a whole, this report amounts to a reaffirmation of the idealistic philosophy in education and constitutes, therefore, a critique of empiricism. While I believe this emphasis to be historically correct, that is, timely and necessary in terms of our present social impasse, I also believe that it represents a partial view. Our emotions need revivifying and this can be brought about only by means of goal-thinking, by positing new purposes, goals and incentives. But, in the long pull of social adjustment, empiricism will have its day. Means cannot be so easily disjoined from ends. The kinds of goals which are ultimately realized depend largely upon the validity and consonance of the means employed.

My second critical comment relates to the apparently naïve belief of the Commission that a public-school system may be transformed with respect to its goals prior to fundamental social change which results in a redistribution of social power. The greater portion of the Commission's program of social education cannot be made effective, I believe, until adults have given assent or consent to a new ordering of social forces based upon a new plan of economic production and distribution. A violent revolution may not be necessary in the United States in order to produce this fundamental change, but one thing seems certain in view of recent events, namely, that such a change involves some form of coercion. Those who now control economic power do not seem to me to have yet learned their first historic lesson, namely, that revolutions are caused, not by those who agitate for a better life for the masses, but by those who allow their own selfishness and greed to stand as barrier. Unhappily, these holders of power cannot be sent to the new schools to study the social sciences according to the Commission's program. It is my fervent wish, however, that those among them who can understand good plain English when they read it could be induced somehow to study with care the Commission's report. To those who have already liberalized their thinking and who already see the hope of a better society for the future, the study of this report will appear as an elementary duty.

* Reprinted from the *Survey Graphic*, XXIII, No. 7 (July, 1934), with the permission of the editors, and the author.

¹ The members of the Commission who placed their signatures on this report were Charles A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman (with reservations), Ada Comstock, George S. Counts, Avery S. Craven, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Henry Johnson, A. C. Krey, Leon C. Marshall, Jesse H. Newlon, Jesse F. Steiner. Those declining to sign the report were Frank A. Ballou, Edmund E. Day, Ernest Horn and Charles E. Merriam.

II. The Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association

E. M. HUNT

Teachers College, Columbia University

Adverse criticism of the final volume of the Report of the Commission is easy and offers, furthermore, the possibility of considerable variety. The situation analyzed—both in society as a whole and in education—is complex and full of controversial issues. Recommendations, stated or implied, invite attack as well for what is omitted as for what is included. Perhaps criticism is the easier since this brief volume sums up in statements necessarily somewhat dogmatic the fuller treatment of the fourteen other volumes of the report, some of which are not yet available to reviewers.

But the report cannot be dismissed merely with statements of dissatisfaction and disappointment. The membership of the Commission is extraordinarily able and representative of the best American scholarship in the social-science fields. Much careful investigation and much hard and informed thinking lie behind these *Conclusions and Recommendations*, which should surely yield some positive gains to education. Considering this volume, then, not as a program but rather, as its authors view it, as a basis for a program, three broad implications will be discussed in this paper.

First, it is to be hoped that the membership of the Commission has established a precedent for future leadership. There was a period, lasting into the present century, when the college and university professors of history, geography and government largely determined the school curriculum in their respective fields. The Committee of Seven, reporting in 1899, and the Committee of Five, reporting in 1911, both to the American Historical Association which had sponsored them, were composed all but exclusively of college professors of history. Some twenty years ago, however, professors of education and schoolmen assumed control. Thus professors of history, geography, government, economics, and sociology were an extremely small minority in the Committee on the Social Studies, a committee this

time of the National Education Association, which reported in 1916. Then, too, the social studies movement and the curriculum construction movement, both of which have developed since 1916, have been carried on by professors of education and schoolmen with a minimum of coöperation from the college and university specialists in what has come to be called "subject matter." These specialists, busy expanding and reinterpreting knowledge within their respective areas of concentration, have shown little interest in the schools save in occasional textbook writing—some of which has taken progressive educational practice into account—and in more or less protest against what are regarded as unscholarly or ill-considered innovations. Accordingly, these specialists have been viewed, perhaps justly, in educational circles as remote from classroom actualities and from experimental and progressive activity, as conservative or even reactionary, and as uncoöperative or even hostile to schoolmen. Unhappily, classroom materials and even some of the concepts fundamental to curriculum construction have suffered from the detachment of the scholars whose knowledge is greatest and whose interpretation is freshest in the subject matter taught in the schools. Schoolmen engaged in building courses within the vast and intricate realms of history, geography, economics, government, sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and even—with our increasingly generous definition of social studies—literature, and natural science, must almost inevitably be generalists, compilers, and popularizers; they stand in constant danger of being superficial, out of touch with recent scholarship, ill-balanced, and uncritical, dangers the reality of which are abundantly demonstrated in some of the recent courses of study and in some of the more hurried and less competently directed efforts to reorganize curriculum content in the social sciences. Professional educators may still be amateurs in the social sciences.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The papers by E. M. Hunt, R. O. Hughes, and Kenneth E. Gell were read at a joint session of the National Council for the Social Studies and the Department of Secondary Education of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C., July 2, 1934.*

Dr. Beard points out in his *Charter for the Social Studies* that "instruction in the social studies in the schools is conditioned by . . . the necessities of scholarship, the realities of society and the requirements of the teaching and learning process." It is possible that during the period when professors of subject matter controlled the social-science curriculum, both the realities of society and the requirements of the teaching and learning process suffered from deference to the necessities of scholarship. Nevertheless, the subsequent reaction led by professors of education against what is sometimes called the logical organization of subjects for schools has sometimes swung too far. Extreme stress on teaching the present may, for example, cut us off from any real understanding even of that present; exclusive attention to problems of today may effectively deprive us of adequate background for understanding the different problems which in this changing world will certainly confront us tomorrow; excessive attention to matters in which children are believed to be interested may deprive them of the opportunity to become interested in other matters in which lack of interest reflects simple ignorance.

Any effort to organize for the school a presentation of society, its background, structure and problems, needs the guidance and coöperation of the most advanced students of the many aspects of society, and the presence of such specialists on this Commission and the resumption by them of consideration of problems of the schools, should be hailed with enthusiasm. The estrangement between the colleges and universities on one hand and the teachers' colleges, normal schools and school administrators on the other, has continued far too long, and to the harm of American education on all its levels. Surely then we must hope that the inclusion on the Commission of school and college administrators, professors of history, geography, government sociology and of the teaching of the social sciences, introduces a new period of coöperation among the groups so represented.

THE SECOND IMPLICATION

For if the Report receives the careful attention to which it is entitled, and exerts the influence anticipated, continued coöperation is essential. As the volume of *Conclusions* states, with some emphasis, the Commission has not produced syllabi or outlined courses. It has found no sovereign remedy for all our ailments, and it has presented no quick and simple answer to all our problems. Some solid foundations have nevertheless been laid which may prove of great value in reducing substantially the confusion which seems steadily to have increased in social-science teaching during the past generation. Objectives have been almost innumerable, often

vague and uncertain, and occasionally even impossible of attainment. Subject matter has expanded overwhelmingly, although no generally acceptable principles of selection, organization, or grade placement, have been evolved. Our schools now range from museums of what was progressive practice thirty years ago to experiment stations where anything is tried which is not known to have been attempted elsewhere, and from which frank and conclusive statements of the results obtained have not always—to state it mildly—been made available for the guidance of others. Teaching procedures, devices and equipment have been multiplied, and experiments both controlled and less controlled have been undertaken and reported upon in this area. The economic, social and political structure to be described and into which the schools must introduce their pupils has grown more complex and puzzling while at the same time demands have been made that the schools do more than merely describe the social order—that teaching cease to be passive and become dynamic.

The Commission has attempted clarification in several aspects of the resulting confusion. The nature and relationships of the various social studies have been considered, definitions phrased, and an attempt made to indicate the possible, the desirable, and the indispensable values to be derived from study of the social sciences. There is still a tendency, even in the Report, to expect such study to perform miracles in character education and in training for civic responsibility and social planning; but at least the realities of the society about us have been faced and some of its needs made clear, though the possibility of meeting the needs may seem unhappily remote to some of us acquainted with those other realities of the classroom—realities which, it seems to me, constitute the aspect of the present situation which is notably neglected in the volume of *Conclusions*. The various influences of relaxed discipline and restraints, of motion pictures, automobiles, organized sports, the radio, and modified moral attitudes do create a set of realities which must be recognized in working out any program in the schools.

The Commission has sketched rapidly the substance and plan of organization of a social-science program. It is in the interpretation of these proposals that coöperation is needed. Problems of selection and organization, of grade placement, of keeping the balance among the realities of society, the requirements of scholarship, and the necessities of the teaching and learning process, are still before us. The Commission has pointed out the direction and undertaken a little preliminary clearing of the way; most of the journey still lies ahead. The Commission has provided some warnings, including rather a sharp questioning of the adequacy of test-

ing programs, teaching techniques, and scientific experimentation for the sake of scientific experimentation, in meeting educational needs. The work of constructing specific courses, of working out principles, of adapting to local conditions and needs, and of providing adequate teaching equipment, still remains before us and, to repeat once more the point which I believe needs emphasis, there is no single group of experts qualified to undertake all this alone.

The third implication of the volume of *Conclusions and Recommendations* to which I wish to call attention concerns teachers and the burden which is being placed upon them. We realize generally that we live in an age of specialization. As knowledge multiplies college professors dig more deeply in ever-narrowing areas of concentration; professors of education, and school administrators similarly, tend to decrease the number and the diversity of their responsibilities, presumably with benefit to their efficiency and effectiveness. But the teacher who a few years ago was concerned only with the teaching of aspects of a not too broadly conceived account of the development of western civilization, or with relatively superficial accounts of geographical phenomena, facts and influences, is put under increasing pressure to reverse this tendency. The old history is too narrow and must be expanded; contemporary history—a field of overpowering extent and complexity—must be included; allied fields must be explored and integrated with history or geography. Contacts with experimental educational programs, practices and equipment must be maintained; the social order must be investigated and analyzed, and plans for its reorganization studied and then adapted to classroom presentation. The past—or at least those aspects of it which are of immediate interest—the present with its complexities and controversies, and the planning of the future have all been placed within the province of the teacher—this same teacher who must keep up with developments in education, be active in the community, and take personal responsibility for the guidance and personality development of several score of pupils.

Now all this is simply and clearly impossible. Even with reduced teaching assignments, with systematic and competent digests of new scholarship and new interpretations, and of new teaching aids, with salaries which permit study, travel, and the liberal purchase of books, and with generous provision of the best of teaching equipment, all this is still impossible. No one can be a specialist in all history, let alone history plus the related social sciences and perhaps literature and the natural sciences. Yet superficiality and lack of detailed knowledge are fatal at three points in the teaching

process—in curriculum construction because correct interpretation must be based on full knowledge; in guiding pupil opinion and attitudes lest these be ill-founded and wrong; and in effective teaching because a wealth of detail and illustration are essential to interest and for the support of generalizations and conclusions. It is not necessary of course to teach all knowledge to pupils, but all knowledge must be taken into account in selecting those parts which are to be presented in the schools and in making the presentation a vital and enduring experience. And there are limits to what even teachers can know.

What then are the courses open to us? One possibility is to set up special curriculum-construction organizations responsible for selecting, organizing and grading subject matter and for preparing detailed teaching programs, thus reducing teachers to clerks who supervise the mechanical use of texts or prepared units together with designated readings, workbooks, tests, and activities. We may come to this, but awkward questions arise concerning the point of view which is to dominate in curriculum construction, concerning the adaptation of the program to local needs and experience, and concerning the efficiency of mechanized and standardized teaching.

A second possibility is coöperative teaching by groups of teachers who are, respectively, specialists in history, literature, geography, art, music, science, etc., assuming joint responsibility for curriculum control and for the conduct of teaching. There is considerable promise in the possibility, but coöperative teaching is apt to lose in unity and clarity, and the maintenance of an adequate teaching staff is expensive.

The third possibility is to continue the teaching of the different subjects in the social sciences, with more careful planning for their coördination and the maximum attention to bringing them into final focus. I see no reason why society cannot be studied in its various aspects of historical development, geographical influences, political growth and structure, economic growth and structure, and social growth and structure. There is unity and coherence in this treatment, the parts can be drawn together in generalizations after the basic narrative and descriptive accounts have been provided, and there is some hope of training teachers able to present an effective and competent account of society if the field of their effort is reasonably limited. It appears to me that the defects in social-science teaching in the schools in the past have centered in the limited knowledge and competence of teachers. It is possible to correct that situation somewhat, and we have been making progress, but I see nothing but hopelessness in the process of increasing the

teacher's burden by requiring the mastering of all knowledge. The teacher is and I believe will remain the key to educational advance; and with all due deference to educational theory and techniques, it seems to me the teacher's chief power lies in knowledge—detailed, definite, certain, and intimate knowledge of what is to be taught.

SUMMING UP

May I, then, sum up with a series of propositions:

1. The best thought of subject matter of specialists in the theory and practice of education and in school administration is needed in working for solutions to our problems, and the membership of the Commission provides a precedent for such coöperation.

2. The Commission has provided much competent analysis of needs, present practice, and some of the possibilities in social-science teaching, and has contributed guidance and some warnings, but it has not furnished us with a specific program; it has not called attention to all the realities of the present classroom situation, and it has not solved our pressing practical problems.

3. The Commission has adopted an attitude towards the function and responsibilities of social-science teaching which places a crushing burden upon classroom teachers. The *Conclusions and Recommendations* are stimulating and should be useful and influential, but there is perhaps still room for question as to whether social-studies teaching can—no matter how desirable such an achievement would be—assume primarily major responsibility for character moulding, the cure of civic evils, and the remoulding of the social order. These are the duties of education as a whole, to which our field or fields must of course contribute, but I would suggest that specifically if we can contribute first a clear narrative and descriptive account of the development of our society and of its present functioning, followed by as much analysis and generalization as we are competent to provide and as our pupils are able to digest, and that if we can in addition provide some training in the location, analysis and use of facts, our major responsibility would be met. That done, we might proceed to take on the further obligations—important and not to be shirked if they are practicable—which the Commission recommends.

III. Implications of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association

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Professor Gell has chosen to devote his part of the discussion of the report of the Commission mainly to the way in which it concerns high-school teachers and their work. Professor Hunt has given me to understand that he is most concerned with the implications of the report as they relate to teacher-training, classroom and library equipment, and similar topics. Like everything else in the field of the Social Studies, nothing any one of us could say would be wholly dissociated from what would be in the minds of the others, however clearly each might try to define the boundaries of his remarks. The whole proposition is like the "seamless web" which Dr. Beard introduced into the first page of his *Charter for the Social Sciences*. I have seen fit to think of the report as it may appear to three groups of people: school administrators, textbook writers, and the public at large to which all of us occasionally belong.

From the viewpoint of any of these three groups,

the report was somewhat of a disappointment. Perhaps we all expected or hoped too much. I think most of us looked for some more definite proposals for guidance in the Commission's report which might make the task of the school administrator, the textbook author, and the layman interested in good citizenship somewhat easier, through knowing what a group of educational leaders thought ought to be done with and through the social studies.

Moreover, the language in which this report is written is over the heads of many of us. We read sentence after sentence and ask ourselves, "What the heck does this mean anyway?" I have found one sentence that stretches over twenty-three lines and another over twenty-one, and I am not sure I found the longest one at that. Sentence after sentence runs to ten lines or more. Why was it necessary to invent such an extraordinary term as "frame of reference" and give that as a title for the considerable portion of the report? Why can't cultured people, when they

have a big proposition like this to put before the public, say what they have to say in clear, terse, everyday English? This fault to which I am referring will handicap seriously the general discussion of the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission.

One conclusion of the Commission, which has far-reaching implications if it is accepted, is its belief that we are heading for some sort of collectivism, social, economic, and political—whatever that means. I am sorry the Commission used that word. To many it at once connotes Communism, though other statements of the Commission suggest that it does not go so far as that. Yet the Commission does maintain repeatedly that we are going to have a “planned economy” in which wealth is going to be differently distributed from the way it is now, and private activities will be restrained in some way or other under this new “emerging, integrating” economy. There are going to be no more long working days, and everybody is going to be able to live comfortably, and “acquisitive egoism” in agriculture, industry, labor, ownership, management, and the use of property is going to be restrained. On that assumption, administrators and the public at large, to say nothing of the textbook writer, are asked to rebuild their thinking about all education, and particularly about the Social Studies.

I am heartily in accord with any policies or programs that will make it easier for all who are willing to do their part to live at least comfortably. Haven't the good teachers of the social studies been preaching that right along? Haven't progressive school administrators been trying to provide in their school systems for the boy or girl of any social or economic class? The abolition of child labor, if we can make it permanent, is an achievement of which to be proud. The reduction of the average working day to a reasonable number of hours is in accord with humanity and good sense. But there is nothing in the social or business life around us to make us think that Utopia is just around the corner.

Such changes as I have mentioned are not really radical. They do not mean the setting up of a new order which is so different from anything that we had before that we must rearrange our whole educational program. The only kind of change that would involve complete reconstruction would be something that would go to the extreme of Socialism or Communism. Is that what the Commission really wants?

By all means, let the teaching of the social studies make pupils realize that they are living in a constantly changing world and that we want the changes that do take place to make things better rather than worse. By all means, let it promote the spirit of coöperation and not of selfishness, and

teach that the community's best interests are served when the welfare of all is taken into account in planning any policy, whether private or public, and not merely the opportunity for selfish gain on the part of any individual or class. Such beliefs are elemental in any social-studies program worth the name. If all the Commission means is that these fundamental principles of coöperation and social justice should be stressed, we are all with it. But if it means more—well, what do you think?

For another implication let me quote the following—which is, by the way, one of the short sentences in the report: “The growing complexity of social relationships, the rapidity of social change, and the consequent social tensions and developments in America and throughout the world demand an increased emphasis on social-science instruction in the schools and a more realistic approach to the study of society.” In other words, present conditions make social-science instruction more important than ever and call for a study of society as it is rather than of what it was or what it is supposed to be.

Toward giving the social sciences their proper place in school programs, the school administrator can do much for he is the one who determines how much time shall be devoted to social science as compared with natural science, language, mathematics, the arts and crafts, and the rest of them. There can be little disagreement with the Commission's conclusion that the social sciences in the schools need particular attention and are likely to call for attention in larger measure in the future. Administrators have too often in the past assigned to the teaching of history and civics teachers whose main duty was coaching athletics, or others who had an incomplete program which had to be filled out with something. College entrance requirements have been content with one credit in the social studies out of a total of fifteen. Administrators have too often organized and directed their own programs on this college entrance proportion. They should see to it that some phase of the social studies is given proper treatment in every year of a child's career in school. The child must not be allowed to think that he can spend any year apart from some direct contact with the problems of the world and the people with whom he is always in contact.

“The Commission refuses to endorse any detailed scheme of organization as best calculated to accomplish the purposes above stated and as suited in one precise form to the schools of the entire country. The Commission believes that within the limits of the general principles outlined [herein], a considerable variety of adaptation to local conditions is both possible and desirable, but that specific recommendations for any school system should be made by competent teachers in the social sciences in consul-

tation with more able scholars." In other words, we are just where we were when we started. Specific recommendations in school systems may not have been always made by competent teachers or able scholars, but each school system, in the majority of states, has done as it pleased in organizing its course of study. No doubt we will agree that there is no one best scheme of organization for all the schools of the country. We should have been glad, however, to know whether the Commission had any opinions at all beyond those of a very general character. I gather from a statement on page fifty-one, for example, that the Commission thinks well of what is most often called a "Problems of Democracy" course for the last year of the secondary school. I wish it had said so, however, if that is the case.

Dr. Ballou, Superintendent in this city of Washington which is now entertaining us, after serving on the Commission for five years, decided that its conclusions and recommendations had nothing whatever to contribute to the organization of his own social-science program in Washington. He was one of the four members of the Commission who refused to sign its report, and the only member who is in actual service today in the public schools of the United States. His attitude toward the Commission's report doubtless represents the feeling of many progressive school superintendents who have been hoping that from the work of the Commission something definite in the way of counsel and advice might come.

Some school administrators will be shocked to be told that the new type tests, which certain educators of repute have led us to believe were going to solve our testing problems, are no good after all. The report does not make clear on what basis the statement is made that the new-type tests "do positive damage to the minds and powers of children." No doubt the report of the Commission may help to give a healthy and much needed check to the testers who are going to judge by the success with which pupils answer foolish or useless questions in the course of a couple of hours what the future vocation of the child is to be. A good teacher will find many ways of testing, both oral and written. If the Commission had said that no one type of test should be used exclusively, most thoughtful people would agree. With its sweeping condemnation of new-type tests, we cannot be in complete harmony.

The Commission lays strong and deserved emphasis on the importance of administrative and supervisory leadership in the efficient operation of a modern school system. It is the superintendent that most often has to make clear to people in general what they ought to want from their schools, whether through the social studies or any other field of interest. It is he that often must spur teachers on to

using their own talents and interests most effectively in adapting subjects to pupils and promoting through the skillful teaching of subjects the mental growth that they can provide. Upon the superintendent and others in administrative positions, therefore, rests a great responsibility to see to it that the social studies have an opportunity to render the full service of which they are capable when properly placed and taught.

Why the Commission put into an appendix the "next steps" which should follow this report is one of several things not easy to understand. If the report was to be worth \$250,000 or so, it surely should lead to something. The "next steps" should be the most important part of the entire report. In its brief Appendix A, the Commission declares that the writers of textbooks may be expected to revamp and rewrite their old works in accordance with this "frame of reference," and new writers in the field of social sciences will undoubtedly attack the central problem here conceived. Well, judging by what Superintendent Ballou thinks, not much revamping or rewriting is needed in order to make courses of study suited to the needs of today. If that is true, textbook writers will also find little in this report to help them either to revamp old books or write new ones on better plans. Maybe that will be a relief to both the textbook writers and the people who have to decide whether to adopt new books or not.

The Commission also states: "Makers of programs in the social sciences in cities, towns, and states, may be expected to evaluate the findings and conclusions of this report and to recast existing syllabi and schemes of instruction in accordance with their judgment regarding the new situation." There is nothing to prevent their evaluating the findings and conclusions of this report, but when it comes to recasting, little help has been given.

The Commission thinks there is going to be a shift in emphasis from method to content and function of courses in the social sciences. Perhaps method has received too much attention, but we all know that some of the dumbest teaching in the United States is done by people in college classrooms who are supposed to know the most about history. Knowledge, full and accurate, should be an essential requirement of a social-studies teacher, but the teacher must know how to present his material if it is going to do anybody any good except himself. The teacher whose accumulation of knowledge makes him forget how he felt and thought when he was in the elementary or high school may become an educational menace if he tries to overwhelm his pupils with the abundance of his own knowledge or bores them to death with minute attention to unimportant details.

The Commission indicates a hope that concentration of thought on its conclusions and recommendations may help "to clear up the confusion now so prevalent in the educational world." Perhaps the Commission's own hesitancy in endorsing any program in particular may encourage superintendents and textbook writers, to say nothing of the general public, in having a little more confidence in their own opinions than previously they had dared to feel. Whether such an outcome, if it does appear, is a blessing or a curse, can be told only in the future.

In closing, let me pay my compliments to the chairman and secretary of the Commission and those other workers who have faithfully given them-

selves to the administration of the various activities of the Commission during the past five years but who do not appear to have had any very direct part in drawing up the Commission's *Conclusions and Recommendations*. Some of the special monographs or studies issued under the general direction of the Commission have been specific and helpful to administrators, teachers, and citizens interested in promoting the right kind of civic attitudes in the public mind. If all this activity does help to arouse a lively interest in the social studies and in what they ought to contribute to the development of an all-around, intelligent, efficient, citizenship, the work of the Commission will be worth not only what it did cost but considerably more.

IV. Implications of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association as It Affects the High School Teacher

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I hope all here have read the report with which we are concerned. It is altogether too important to our profession, and too filled with hope to be possibly understood through a vicarious experience. Those of you who have not read the report, I urge to do so. I can think of nothing better than that all professionally-minded, forward looking social-science teachers place a copy of Professor Beard's *The Nature of the Social Sciences* and his previous volume, *A Charter for the Social Sciences*, beside this report in a handy place on their reference shelves, to be often referred to until thoroughly digested. Such an act by many teachers would begin to produce a long needed commonness of purpose and aim, and a mutual background for further activities of the groups here assembled.

Those of you who have read the report have had many diverse surprises! You must have been struck at the outset by its forward looking nature, by its inspiring challenges, by its liberal and hopeful attitude regarding the future both of this country and our profession, and by its purposeful nature. You may also have been disappointed and surprised at what appear as shortcomings.

First, as to its merits. Time does not permit a

detailed accounting of these, but the more obvious may be mentioned.

The Commission, by stressing the importance of training the pupil in the social sciences, has pointed out the ever increasing responsibility and importance of the teacher of the social sciences. If we properly grasp the implications of this, we will see that it is to point out the position of the social-science teacher not merely as a school teacher but as one of those in a democracy who by his training and function in the social family is in the forefront of a march toward better things. This is a challenge which we must not fail to accept.

The Commission takes a very definitely liberal attitude as to the nature of the society for which we train the youth of this country, and the means whereby a finer life should be attained. This may be taken as a sanctification by scholars of a liberal point of view for teachers, and thereby tends to loosen the clutch of ultra-conservative institutions upon us. Special-interest organizations now will find the teacher who seeks certain advantages derived from change not only in fine company but encouraged by that company. We should interpret this not as leaving the faith and hope of our fath-

ers for the theories of "malcontent radicals," but as a challenge to go forward with the spirit of our fathers rather than to go back to the picayunes of their diaries and their ledgers. This fact we should count both as a release from the dead hand of the status-quo and a new companionship with the scholar; the scholar and teacher are now united to challenge America to a finer life.

The Commission has wisely seen the need of better teaching conditions and teacher training in general, for all of which we may be thankful. Now there comes, not from teachers interested in their own nest egg, but from accepted scholars, the flat pronouncement that teachers are entitled to more security, more reward, and greater chances for professional enrichment if the youth of this country—which is its future—is to be well served by us.

There are some in our social family who consider teaching as menial white-collar labor. There are others, *horribile dictu*, even among our own professional group who think of it merely as a technique or series of tricks to be mastered; a "science," such people call it. The Commission has seen the fallacy in both of these attitudes and has in its own words sought to demonstrate it as an art, and its practise as a profession. Such an attitude is to ennoble the profession and to elevate the teacher, both as a group and as individuals.

Another service of the Commission is definitely to summarize in its "Frame of Reference" a list of fundamental features of our present national conditions to which any citizen may refer, and understand that the best scholarly judgment of the country is agreed upon its truth. This "Frame of Reference" should be studied and used in connection with the *Charter for the Social Sciences* and *The Nature of the Social Sciences*, previously released by the Commission. As long as teachers stand by and for this "Frame of Reference," they have a basis for liberal teaching justified by outstanding scholars. With this "Frame of Reference" can be found only one fault—namely, it fails to include certain features of the educational system, without an understanding of which there can be little practical application of the ideals, hopes, and challenges of the Commission.

I wish also briefly to point out to you another highlight, the "Substance of a Program," found on pages forty-nine to fifty-four.

For these and other features, the high-school teacher of the social sciences should be grateful, and should feel encouraged. For these reasons, the report of this Commission will be a milestone in the evolution, development and improvement in the instruction of youth in the science and service of society so that he may be better equipped to play his part in the rôle of civilization.

But there is a less fortunate side to this report. The features in this report which one cannot commend are of especial concern to the high-school teacher. I mention them not to castigate the report but in an humble hope that some revision or amplification of sections may ultimately follow.

The shortcomings of this report seem to be especially, if not almost entirely, in the failure to understand teaching conditions as they do exist. This may be seen not only in the shortcomings themselves but in the generalities used by the Commission when treating some topics on which we had hoped and expected some definite pronouncements. Why there is not this understanding, I can imagine is due only to the nature of the Commission's personnel; this fact I mention not in reproof but in explanation.

May I point out the character of the Commission's personnel? One college president, nine scholars or professors in universities and colleges, five professors of education and allied subjects, and only two who may be called practising schoolmen! *So far as I could learn*, of the three-quarters of the Commission approving this report only five have had training in secondary education, served as instructors in secondary education, or have served as practising schoolmen. This is not the whole story: may I read you the dates of last training or service in the secondary schools of four of these five members on whom I could get data: 1895, 1898, 1898, 1927!! This would seem to indicate that the Commission is essentially a body of scholars.

At this point, I feel safe in speaking for our professional group in saying to the Commission that the teacher does not in the least wish to belittle scholarship or to detract from the honor which is due the scholastic professor, nor to refuse to be grateful for all he means to education—even to secondary education! I am eager to affirm that secondary education cannot flourish—at least in the social sciences—without the research, the detached judgment, the text writing and suggestions of the scholar. High-school teachers can never repay their debt to the scholar; we owe him respect and homage. But I do insist that his job, his life and the circumstances of his work, even his purposes, differ so widely from those of high-school teachers that he is not competent in and of himself, unaided and uninformed of our trying and vexing problems, to be our arbiter and sole guide. The teacher cannot serve well without the academic scholar, but the spirit that reigns between the two must be that of mutual understanding and coöperation in a common cause, not the spirit which exists in a formal hierarchy! For one group to try to serve another without proper and sufficient advice of the group to be served will greatly diminish the effectiveness of the serving group!

As I intend to show, this report is in its very shortcomings another proof that there has been too much effort expended in the behalf of high-school social-science teaching without *sufficient* participation by the practising teacher.

In the zealotry of this Commission to serve the teaching profession, they have unwittingly erred in places by assuming a tone and phraseology which is not in keeping with the needed and essential relation between scholarship and teaching. I fear this condescension may antagonize many whose coöperation and effort we need and might otherwise have. I would point out to all that there is no true cleavage between scholarship and teaching; there are those who are essentially scholars, there are others who are essentially teachers, but this does not mean that teachers are without scholarship. There are a large number of teachers of the type and caliber to which the Commission makes an especial appeal (ex.: Par. 5, p. 104). In the profession of education no one group has a monopoly on scholarship, and even to hint such an idea immediately starts a discord which is not in keeping with the spirit of our profession, nor conducive to its smooth functioning, which is so essential for the achievement of our purposes and our goals.

May I again repeat that I mention the Commission's personnel and the relation of scholarship to teaching not in reproof but in explanation; not in bitterness but in hope! I believe the majority here will concur in my attitude and feelings in this matter.

My further remarks are predicated upon certain premises which seem to me so patent that they should have been included in the report's "Frame of Reference."

The first of these premises is the essential mass quality of American education, which seems inevitable as long as a huge population and democracy are present together. We may hope for easier and smaller teaching loads, but there is no relief in sight sufficient to alter fundamentally this mass characteristic of public education. Any public educational plan in this country must be made to fit within the limits of this fact or it loses its practicality.

A further feature of this mass nature of American public education is the tremendous responsibility placed upon the high school because only about eighteen per cent of pupils entering the ninth grade ever get to an educational institution beyond the high school. About eighty-two per cent of all pupils who reach high school must get their entire social-science training from the secondary school, not beyond, except as adult education may be utilized. Also, the Commission on page forty-eight, actually assumes that the ordinary pupil will remain

through high school, which is not a fact on which we can now work.

When one realizes that the aims and hopes of the Commission are not for raw facts and book knowledge, but for the finer, more intangible though real values, such as ideals, appreciations, citizenry skills, wise social behavior, judgment and the like, then one realizes that those things can get only their foundation and start in the grammar school. Their development and unfolding must come in the high school or later, and for most, as shown, there is no "later." The job is, therefore, essentially the high-school teachers'! This makes more clear a previous criticism, for now we see that a group, essentially of scholars, has designed the pattern of action for a job which essentially must be done by the high-school teachers, and this pattern at times is imposed in a manner expected only in a formal hierarchy.

The second of the premises that should have been in the "Frame of Reference" is the nature of the employment of high-school teachers, which differs distinctly from employment conditions of the scholar in most colleges and universities, and also is a limiting factor upon any plan of action our professional group may essay. The Commission in its chapter on the "Philosophy and Purpose of Education" (Pars. 4 and 5, pp. 36-37) calls on the teachers to champion definitely a collectivistic society. This is no time or place to discuss the possible future form of our political and economic society, but it is the time and place to remind all that we are members of a democracy (which the Commission has emphasized [p. 23]), and in this democracy others than the scholars and teachers have rights of opinion. The definite mention and discussion of collectivism will alone bring opposition from other groups within the social family (see Par. 10, p. 16-17), who feel that in a democracy their opinion is as good as ours. Such pronouncements, coupled with the essential liberal nature of the "Frame of Reference" and the chapter on "Public Relations and Administration," are apt to be interpreted by many as a positive challenge to social leadership. This we cannot do, legally or philosophically. We are in the employ of the citizens through their political agents, the Boards of Education, who hold the State's sovereignty and are subject to pressure of special-interest groups. It would avail little to the cause of an improved society for a teacher over-zealous in such leadership to be deprived of his position because of his efforts! We must be sufficiently cautious in our use of terms and ideas and duties not to stir up a hornet's nest with a hot stick.

In this regard I submit to you that to admit

that the educator must be *in* the forefront of our nation's leaders does not imply that the scholars and teachers must be *the* forefront of that leadership. Democracy allows a voice to all groups and opinions. Education is a result as well as a cause of social structure. We are not only leaders of youth, we are legal civil servants, and so are limited in our action. Moreover, to succeed in any such effort would require a combination of leadership and authority which does not and cannot exist.

The Commission treats this subject in its chapter on Public Relations, but too often the members seem to confuse the relations of the teacher as a member of society with his relations as a public employee.

May not the leadership of our profession be best served by our group striving to be one of other leading groups, plus the effort of each individual within our profession to indoctrinate in each youth the spirit of truth, accuracy, and justice that the mass of our citizenry as a democracy may make its own decisions. Admitted that we must serve the present and the future within this "Frame of Reference"; still it does not follow that *we* must anticipate or provoke either change or the democratic wish of the mass of Americans. A long time ago, speaking of such things, Aristotle told us that, "although the cook makes the broth, the guests must eat it"; we must not forget the lesson in that.

In closing this point, I believe that we dare build a new social order, but as members of a democratic social family, not as a dominating clique or a fascistic party.

GENERALITIES

Next, I wish to mention two criticisms together. One is the prevalence of generalities rather than specific recommendations; the other is the tendency to make these very general suggestions on an apparent assumption that "education is merely education," that is to say, that it is an entity rather than a complex. For example, it speaks of the need of continuity in the program (p. 56, par. 5, and p. 62, par. 11), but says nothing about the method of organizing a four-year high-school curriculum, and ignores the fact that almost one-third of the pupils now disappear at the end of the first high-school year. Even if the Commission had suggested a plan of continuity, how could it be applied to that one-third who drop out after one year? The Commission states that programs of study, "should be made by competent teachers in the social sciences in consultation with able scholars." If that is what is meant as a pattern for building a new order of things, then the problem is again up to the competent teacher, which places the situation

just where it was five years ago, before the Commission started work.

There is much in the report that seems to assume that most children are alike, and their needs similar. The known need of some homogeneous grouping is only incidentally mentioned when discussing tests. The professor in the college deals with a highly selected group of students that has been screened four to six times in the high schools, largely on its ability to do academic work. This is not so with the teacher. Only a practising schoolman can realize how much difference there must be in curricula, methods and other school problems with different types of pupils.

We have had years of generalities. Detailed curriculum building needs something specific. We had hoped that these five years of labor would bring forth something more immediately practical.

In thus refusing to make a specific or a suggested pattern for a curriculum based on facts within the social sciences and the educational situation as it is today, the Commission's report to that extent fails to be of practical value, and seems to permit in education the *laissez-faire* which it so deplores in our economic life.

The criticisms thus far made are such as to be disagreements, and may be eliminated by further conference, revision or demonstrations of other points of view. There is one feature of the report, however, which appears much more serious. I, for one, can see little chance here for conciliation, and claim that repudiation is called for.

In its efforts to stress the art of education, the Commission leans backward so far as to do injustice to the scientific aspects of education. Among those who have concerned themselves with progress and experiments in secondary education it seems universally agreed that what is termed "science in education" has equipped the teacher with some useful tools. I object to any effective tool for my work being taken from me.

I refer especially to the chapter on "Tests and Testing." It appears to me that this chapter must be repudiated on two counts: firstly, on the basis of facts and the most enlightened opinion among experts on tests; secondly, on the basis of the method and treatment given this subject by the Commission.

The Commission's stand on tests and testing may be summarized as follows:

1. Intelligence tests (so called) generally "do positive damage to the minds and powers of children" and measure no factors that are of value in the social sciences.
2. Objective (or new type) tests are of no value in the measurement of character and culture.
3. Only in the classroom has the new type test

any justification, and there its use is limited to "immediate outcomes, memory of facts, partial understanding of terms" and "checking teachers' judgments" (which last seems very much a capitulation of their whole stand on tests).

4. New type tests give rise to the two values of "placing fictitious ratings on the student who is clever in learning the tricks of the trade, and the encouragement of students to go to college or into life without ever having put forth continuous and constructive effort in thinking and writing. . . ."

In general it may be said that the Commission seeks to take away one of the tools of our work, and, as before pointed out, our tasks are so large and so charged with responsibility that the loss of any aid is a serious matter.

The Commission points out in criticism of the new type tests that the true examination of what we teach and of what our pupils do must come in life behavior. This criticism is just as true of the written essay type examination as of the new type examination.

Certainly, the Commission cannot have thoroughly and dispassionately reviewed during the last five years the literature on this subject. They state that (p. 88) "in the 1920s a reaction set in (to the intelligence tests) and the more discriminating members of the testing profession came gradually to disavow the more extreme claims of the earlier period." That is true; but the less extreme claims for those tests are far from being cast aside. Has the Commission failed to make itself aware that these intelligence tests are accepted as fine measures of academic ability? Will they continue to deny that these tests are fairly good measures for homogeneous grouping or that homogeneous grouping is an efficient and needed tool of the teacher? Are they not aware that there are excellent new type tests on certain social skills and habits, or that new type tests can demand thought, concentration, and judgment? Have they never heard of the five-choice graded response test which calls for real judgment? What do they mean by saying "objective tests can check teachers' judgment" if not to admit them to be a true measuring value of what the teacher wants to judge? I must take no more time asking questions of the Commission! I simply submit to you that because objective tests are not yet perfect is no reason to harshly criticize them; rather, we must save and increase all of the value that is in them.

Not only can this stand on tests be ruled out on these grounds, but also because of the methodology used in presenting it to us. The Commission gives as its authorization three books, all done under its auspices. One, Beard's *Nature of the Social Studies*, I have read thoroughly and find no jus-

tification for such a stand; in fact, Professor Beard in that book is essentially concerned with materials and content, not with tests. The other two books are not yet even published! The author of one, Professor Horn, refused to sign the Commission's report. The chief author of the other book, Professor Kelley, is known up and down this land as the champion of the new type test in its better forms, and by his pronouncements and writings is known to stand for in testing what the Commission denounces. I have not seen Professor Kelley for quite some time, but I venture to say that he does not justify or approve that chapter.

The Commission elsewhere refers to "the experience of social-science teachers" as a basis for its judgment. In Appendix B they name twenty-six teachers whom they have consulted and whom they apparently think competent. On my own knowledge, thirteen of these very teachers are builders of published new type tests for the Social Sciences. How many more test builders there may be among the other half of that group, I do not know.

The Commission has made certain pronouncements that it wants us to accept. To justify itself, it quotes three authors and a group of teachers, all of whom, generally speaking, either are not concerned with tests, or who do not substantiate the pronouncements of the Commission. I make bold to say that we had expected truer and more scholarly methods from such great names as Beard, Counts, Comstock, Krey, Johnson, and the others! They have apparently thrown out the window those things with which they did not agree, while speaking to us of the need of training youth in character and social values. What they have used here is not true scholarship, but arbitrary pontification and a poor (if not worse) use of sources. The Commission does not seem to realize that there are thousands of social-science teachers sufficiently trained and of high professional standards, who can see through that veil. The chapter on "Tests and Testing" as it now stands, must therefore, I feel, be repudiated.

It is further unfortunate that the weakness of the methods used by the Commission on that chapter in many cases will shake confidence in the scholarship and value of other parts of the report.

May I sum up for you as I see it the meaning to high-school teachers of the Commission's report.

When dealing with the general nature and importance of the social sciences and when exercising its vision, the Commission has rendered us a great service. In these regards, the Commission has emphasized the importance to society of the social sciences and of the social-science teacher; it has pronounced for better teaching standards, training and rewards; it has definitely espoused and

justified a liberal interpretation of our society and its future; it has reaffirmed education as an art; it has laid the foundation for a newer and finer coöperation and companionship between those who are essentially scholars on the one hand, and those who are teachers on the other; and the Commission has crystallized in its "Frame of Reference" the chief characteristics and conditions of our society in such a clear way that he who runs may read.

The work and findings of the Commission would have been more purposeful if more heed had been given to certain factual conditions of American education, especially the mass feature of American education, the especial responsibility of the high schools, and the civil service nature of the public school teachers' employment. If these had been added to the "Frame of Reference," the report would have differed in several ways.

I think the report may be criticized in that it may be interpreted to place too great and unwarranted responsibility for civic and social leadership upon our profession; because its tone in places is sufficiently pontifical or antagonistic to lose the coöperation of many within the profession; be-

cause at the end of five years of work, it has not treated the educational need with sufficient specification; because in stressing the art of education it minimizes the science of education; and because it does not seem to give sufficient weight to the nature of education as a complex, but rather tends to treat it as if it were essentially the same entity for all who partake of it.

The chapter on "Tests and Testing," I feel should be repudiated by high-school teachers as being against the best judgment and experience on the subject, and also because the findings have been presented in a manner which is both unscholarly and such as to belittle the scholarship and integrity of the profession.

My remarks at times may have been harsh, but I feel justly so. I hope you will not let the shortcomings of this Commission's report conceal its essential values and usefulness.

It is my hope that teachers will read and critically digest the report, so that in the future we may unite to make use of its advantages and strive to correct its shortcomings, in which effort we must coöperatively call upon, and offer ourselves to, the Commission.

The Incomplete Report

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For ten years the American Historical Association has been moving toward a report on education for life in a democracy. The gist of the result of this movement has been published in a small volume under the title *Conclusions and Recommendations*. The chapters in this volume deal with a philosophical frame of reference in teaching democracy, philosophy and purpose of education, materials of instruction, tests and testing, methods of teaching, training and character of the teacher, relations of the public to civic education. While the Commission on the Social Studies has sponsored a long list of useful publications and has assumed full responsibility for *A Charter for the Social Studies*, the *Conclusions and Recommendations* form the constitution proposed for the organization of teaching in this field. The Charter might be called a declaration of independence if the *Conclusions* are called a constitution.

Much should have been accomplished in a period of ten years. What has been accomplished in this case seems to some members of the Commission to be less than was to be expected. Of the sixteen mem-

bers of the Commission, twelve indicated their approval of the text of the final report by signing the draft of it. The other four declined to sign; and when given an opportunity to submit dissenting opinions for publication with the report, they declined to do this. No one knows, therefore, how serious they think the weaknesses of the report and therefore the work of the Commission to be. This note is a petition to these four able and distinguished gentlemen to finish the report by publishing their dissenting opinions or other discussions of the report in this magazine where they will most easily reach the public especially responsible for promoting sound civic education. If others will strengthen this petition by similar requests, the dissenters will see that the profession needs a completed report and will doubtless respond.

Who are the dissenters? What reason is there for believing that it is their duty to complete the report? My answer is that those who can do a thing vested with a public interest are in honor bound to do it. These able men are more able to criticise this report than any other persons anywhere. The

word criticism is used here in Matthew Arnold's sense of an effort to develop a current of fresh and true ideas. Two of the dissenters were members of the committee which spent three years in planning the Investigation. Two of them were members of the small Executive Committee of five which controlled the conduct of the Investigation. One was secretary of the Commission throughout its five-year career. Together they represent four of the great fields from which members for the Commission were drawn: political science, economics, educational theory and educational administration. One was vice-chairman of President Hoover's committee on Recent Social Trends. One is Director of Social Sciences for one of the great philanthropic endowments with power, influence and responsibility. Together or separately they are clearly in duty bound to complete this report with what they have to contribute to it.

The majority of the Commission were careful to avoid dogmatism, detailed directions or *ex cathedra* pronouncements on what teachers and administrators ought to do. Like the authors of the Federal Constitution, they sought to lay down great principles as guides to movement into the unknowable future. In the growth of the Federal Constitution, no influence has been more wholesome than the dissenting opinions of judges who did not agree with the majority. The greatest safeguard to the growth of democracy is frank statement of differences of opinion among responsible men and the isolation of issues which must be recognized as capable of proof or as mainly more opinions about which honest and intelligent men may differ and still be friends. It is to be hoped that the dissenting opinions of these four distinguished men may be but the forerunners of much discussion in this magazine of the issues raised by the report.

The opportunity that faced the Commission was so nearly unique in educational history that any similar one in the near future is almost unthinkable. A task of the greatest complexity and importance stood clear; there was widespread popular demand for an effective attack on it; scholars from all the related fields were willing to serve; a financial en-

dowment for planning and execution of nearly a quarter of a million dollars was available. The preliminary steps to the work of the Commission ought not to be overlooked.

In 1921, the confusion in the social studies reached a sort of climax. Conferences were held for the Commonwealth Fund to consider a survey but came to nothing; the Second Committee of Eight presented a report only to receive the cold shoulder of the Council of the Historical Association; the National Council for the Social Studies was organized to facilitate coöperation. These and other movements failed largely because people were more interested in their particular opportunities than in an effort for the public good. There was not sufficient leadership.

The History Inquiry of 1923 was made to show the sad state the social studies had reached by that time. As soon as *prima facie* case was made out for the Council of the Historical Association, this influential body decided to move and sought the coöperation of representatives of other interested groups. This coöperation being gladly given in this crisis, a committee was appointed and spent about three years in planning a thorough investigation. It published a report in 1926 and after receiving criticisms and suggestions continued its study until 1928. The sponsoring authorities being then satisfied, the personnel of the committee and its chairmen were made the nucleus of the Commission which was given a five-year mandate to carry out the plans. The personnel was nearly doubled for the Commission, and complete independence assured.

Such an investigation is a matter of major national interest. Criticism of it is of the highest importance. Outsiders can hardly criticise it freely and with confidence when the four men of all persons in the world most able to criticise it and obliged by their position to do so, stand silent and refuse to speak. They know it thoroughly, have heard all of the inside arguments. The reason for their silence cannot be a mere personal matter. Surely every effort should be made to persuade them to complete the report.

"Hamilton and Jefferson Today," by Broadus Mitchell (*Virginia Quarterly*, July) calls attention to the similarity between present-day conditions and those existing prior to 1789. Both periods are characterized by economic depression following a great war; by currency derangement; by controversy over the relative claims of state and national authority; by international sus-

picious; by restriction of foreign trade; by ominous conflicts between debtors and creditors; between agrarians and urbanites; all these things and more contributing to nation-wide uncertainty, and all factions poised they know not whether for flight or fight. The emphasis of this study is on Hamilton's nation-making policies, especially in economic and social control.

Social Intelligence¹

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Most of human suffering and grief has been the product of social evils, not of individual wrong doing. Good men, not bad ones, have caused the greater part of our troubles. The great injustices and disasters of the past have come not through the planning of those with evil purposes, but through conditions sanctioned and supported by men of the best intentions. Stupidity is the greatest of crimes.

History sustains the charge. Up the grooves of the centuries, mankind has toiled under the burdens of useless wars, unnecessary poverty, and blind intolerance and tyranny. With the mistaken idea of preserving vital social forms, conservative groups have held back change until the madness of revolution has taken its awful toll. Pious men have confused their own opinions and interests with those of God and the ages, while darkness has covered the face of the earth. In spite of matchless material advances in our own day, social progress has been paltry. The very skill of our hands threatens our civilization because the head and heart have not kept pace. We have learned to produce magnificently; we have not been able to distribute intelligently the things we have made. We have unraveled the mysteries of the material universe; we have not been able to establish social justice. Regardless of abstract opinions, the fact remains that wars can be opposed only by the disloyal, the blind, and the impractical dreamer. The emotional outbursts of orthodox patriotism stifle protests and turn precipitous action into a holy crusade. And good men go on crusades. The sacred rights of private property and the equally sacred freedom of the individual in affairs economic are sufficient excuse for permitting poverty to go on and to make it into a sort of affliction visited on man by the Gods. The appeal for social stability and to the traditions of the past are generally sufficient to discredit the social innovator and to rob him of respectability. Who can stand against the cry of "Revolutionist?"

And all of this not for lack of human capacity. We have had our wise men and our saints in abundance. The trouble lies deeper. About things social, we have substituted emotion for thought. Speculation and experimentation are largely forbidden. Around each unit in the social pattern clusters a whole series of passion-stirring words which hide

realities and prevent the discernment of our own best interests. This is American; that is un-American. This is radical or communistic; that is according to the fathers. The basic facts of interest conflict, and the necessity for rational planning to maintain balance, are lost. And so we stumble forward from disaster to disaster while the philosopher gravely asks whether civilization can endure—whether men can long inherit the earth.

A RATIONAL SOCIAL ORDER

The real difficulties in securing a rational social order arise from the fact that "in every civilized society," as the wise old James Madison put it, "there are economic groups, according to different degrees and kinds of property." The game of politics, under such conditions, becomes one of balancing the claims of conflicting groups according to necessity or expediency. The party or government which is able to satisfy its most powerful constituents endures and, in time, creates the fiction of political forms with absolute and intrinsic values. Then every sanction from tradition to divinity is called in to defend that which is, and those who prosper under its reign become the patriots of the day through loyalty to its patterns. Only revolution can change the course, and revolutions prove to be, not what Thomas Jefferson thought them, but, the worst of evils. In either case, rational planning is out of the question, and social progress is a matter of chance.

In American life two conflicting ideals have always existed. To these the basic interest groups have turned for emotional support and rational justification. They center about the words *Liberty* and *Equality* as found in the Declaration of Independence. They are the bitterest of enemies, but, under unique American development, until of late, they have dwelt so harmoniously together that few have discerned their inherent antagonism. Yet he who runs might easily read that if men are free they will not remain equal, and if they are kept equal, it will be at the expense of their freedom. Today that fact is slowly dawning on the muddled minds of Americans who have accepted the traditional unity of their faith. We are painfully learning that the great purposes of a democratic society are not so simple when maturity comes.

Just what the Fathers meant when they talked

of liberty and equality, few know and fewer care. Sufficient to say that in the years since, freedom has been our *practice* and equality our *boast*. The term "liberty" has come to mean that government shall keep its hands out of business and wherever the individual may function, it is his American right to do so without restraint. All that the term *laissez faire* implies in things economic has become its possession. It has sanctioned competition among individuals as the best means to efficiency and fair prices. It has been the basis of the right claimed to possess and exploit the natural resources of the earth's richest continent. It has spread the halo of righteousness over an economic system motivated by private acquisition of wealth and production carried on primarily for profits. In fact, it has become the buttress of the whole capitalistic system of our day and made its continuance a matter of intense American emotional interest.

In the realm of thought, freedom has gradually been extended to those who have attempted to encompass the facts and theories of material things. The work of the physical scientist not only has become respectable, it has been glorified quite beyond its merits. The scientist has been permitted to speculate and experiment, and what he has found has been hailed as discovery of the greatest interest and benefit to mankind, even though his successors prove it all to have been false. The returns of freedom applied to scientific scholarship have paid dividends large enough to justify occasional losses in blind allays. Mistakes are the price we pay for progress.

The term "equality" has not fared so well. Regardless of original meanings, in practice, it has insisted on a fair opportunity for the pursuit of happiness in such varied ways as public education and the distribution of free homesteads for settlers. In a less definite way, it has become the weapon of those who have not shared in the blessings of capitalistic expansion and who, at intervals, have arisen to proclaim the Americanism of "well-being." Its mission generally has been that of protest; its devotees include a long list of "hare-brains" who have borne such epithets as "loco focos," "greenbackers," "populists," and "brain-trusters." It has harbored such unrespectables as Thomas Jefferson, David A. Wells, James B. Weaver, Eugene Debs, and William Jennings Bryan—to say nothing of the latest crop of dreamers down in Washington. It has seldom been dominant, and as seldom in the favor of substantial citizens. The fight to think and experiment in the field of the social sciences, whose business it is to secure a working equality, has not yet even been started.

And America's preference has seemingly proven

wise. Under the banners of *freedom*, a race of pioneers has crossed a continent and transformed it from wilderness simplicity to industrial complexity. The story of technical advances in the multiplication of machines and horse-power to turn them reads like a fairy tale. The making of goods and the development of agents and means to distribute them have enabled common men the western world over to live like ancient kings. Wealth has piled high and rich men have endowed the institutions of learning and culture. The city has brought to high development the possibilities in group association for improved living. Freedom applied in political-economic ways has wrought a new epoch in the history of mankind.

The rôle played by woman in this drama was not a minor one. On the frontier, as Dr. Paxson so beautifully says, "she bore the children and buried a staggering number of them. . . . She fed her men and raised her brood, cooked their food and laid it by for the winter. She was at once butcher, packer, and baker. The family clothes showed her craftsmanship. . . . When one adds to the grinding and unavoidable labor, the anguish that came from sickness and danger, the frontier woman, who survived, became an heroic figure and the children who felt her touch became the proper material from which to choose the heroes of a nation." When the factory came, woman took her place at the spindle and the loom to lay the foundations for a new order. Women, not men, ushered in the Industrial Revolution at Lowell and Lawrence and Fall River. In the creation of a business organization to make possible the workings of mass production and complex interdependence, she also did her part. The typewriter became almost a monopoly in her keeping, and the private secretary became the medium through which a business system maintained its course, while men folk were distracted by the worries of golf scores and pressure salesmanship. To women fell largely the task of administering to the human wreckage which the grinding pressure of competition and the hurry of urban living produced. The angel of mercy, the helpmate of distraction. Freedom had broken the bondage of the centuries and piled new responsibilities upon feminine shoulders grown broad enough to bear them.

But there was another side to the picture of developments under freedom. The Fathers proved their wisdom in balancing their ideals. Industrial development, under freedom, was basically aristocratic, steadily favoring the few and concentrating power into their hands. The corporation, toward which efficient business tended, crowded out the lesser folk and mocked the governments which tried to control its ways. By January 1, 1930, seventy-

eight per cent of American business wealth, not including banking, was corporate wealth. The two hundred largest corporations controlled about forty-nine per cent of all this corporate wealth, and thirty-eight per cent of all our business wealth. And in these two hundred corporations, only six per cent of the wealth was controlled by those owning one-half or more of the stock. That, my friends, constitutes collectivism, whether you call it by the name or not!

And every technical advance displaced human hands with machines. Some were soon absorbed by new industries created by the same process, but unemployment of industrial workers became a permanent part of American life. Today some twelve million men are out of work, and authorities have stated that full production can be resumed without the return of a single one of these workers. Furthermore, we could dispense with one-half of the farmers of the nation and drop at least one-third of our present acreage from production, and still produce, by new methods, more food than we can consume or find a market for outside our borders. These are serious facts in a system where a market is necessary to keep production going and where employment is necessary to make a market. A vicious circle so delicately balanced that failure at any one point plunges us into a depression and impending ruin.

But that is not all. The city, where by 1920 the majority of the people of the United States lived, was a part of that matchless development. There was to be found most of the new wealth and luxury, most of the culture and most of the leisure. But the great cities were places where the old American democracy could not live, where the problems presented were those for technical experts, not plain average citizens inducted into office. Only corruption and inefficiency could result from a continuation of all in government which the traditions of freedom required. The shame of the city, as Brand Whitlock called it, was the result.

And the final product of it all was an extravagant, gambling life, where excitement took the place of happiness; action the place of thought. The values placed on men were in terms of wealth and industrial power. Goodness was confused with bigness, show with taste, extravagance with refinement. The critic coined the term "gilded age" to describe its quality. We had reached maturity without acquiring discipline or discrimination—the essence of culture.

It took the excesses of the 1920's and the collapse of the 1930's to reveal the full weakness of a social-economic order based on freedom untempered by equality. Suddenly we found ourselves in the absurd positions of having more goods than

we could use and men starving and freezing for the want of those very goods, of machines which mocked the old curse of toil, and made leisure a possibility for all, yet yielding us only unemployment for those who had to work to live. We talked of men out of work because production had ceased because men were out of work and could not buy. We had solved the problems of production, but we had yet to learn the first lessons in a wise distribution. The business genius, to whom we had ascribed all wisdom, proved to be only a gambler with great forces he neither created nor controlled. Overnight our Insulls, Mitchells, and Morgans passed from dominance to public condemnation for doing the very things they had been considered masters and benefactors in doing for decades. The values evolved under the ideal of freedom needed sharp recasting in a period when production was no longer the problem, and distribution had come to vex the minds of carefree Americans.

In other words, what had happened, as I said in speaking to you on a former occasion, was an ethical collapse as well as an economic one. Old ideals and values had collapsed with the system they had supported. The hour had struck when men must reassess the worth of their whole social-economic code. The old task of fighting through a screen of emotionalized words to find realities had to be undertaken by those with the courage and the heart to go ahead. The pioneer conditions under which freedom had developed and rendered its magnificent services were ended. Before us lay what William Allen White called "the most elaborate metallic scrap heap that the history of civilization has recorded." Social salvation depended on the building of a new equality which free men had not been able to secure. A day of forced coöperation or social planning was at hand or complete disaster lay just ahead.

The average man still believes that "a little repairing, a little patching, a little good will, a better understanding of the other fellow's point of view, and steel will again sell at 150." And that is all that we need and all that we want. But youth knows better. You are facing a world which will not welcome you with open arms. Hundreds of thousands like you will find no place in which to serve next year or the next. My mail, this year, has been filled with pleas from splendidly educated boys and girls who merely want the chance to earn their bread and butter. They are willing to take even menial tasks. One doctor of philosophy is a floor walker in a department store; another is running an elevator in an apartment building; a third is washing dishes in a kitchen. Three years of bitter struggle to make use of graduate study in their chosen fields has taught them that produc-

tion in the future must be for use and not alone for profits. They have become convinced that a wholesome, yet assured, simplicity for the many is better than a destroying extravagance for the few. They know that the taste for finer things is preferable to the opportunities for garish indulgence. They are certain that there is nothing sacred or peculiarly American about the practices which have made business into gambling and made possible the absurdities of want amid plenty, grinding toil amid a welter of machines. They will insist that equality in its fullest meaning of a decent chance to be born well, to express one's personality completely, and to be rid of the plaguing worry of want, were basic purposes in the founding of the Republic. The terms "un-American," "radical," or even "revolutionist," unfairly hurled at those who follow Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Abraham Lincoln will not bother them. They will be moved by currents of thought, not those of emotion.

I might wish also that they would be done with politics as we have known it. A planned society cannot come by merely granting conflicting groups enough to keep them politically quiet. When will we learn, as Professor Taylor of Harvard says, "that economic realism requires us to see political justice to all groups in terms not of equally generous concessions to all, but in equal resistance to all such demands." We need brains in government, not bargains. The state must serve a wider purpose in the days ahead, and it must do so without the loss of more of freedom than a democracy can yield. We do not want to secure well-being through dictatorships, but we want it through the votes of happy men freely given for a just program. A new Equality will restore Freedom.

The call is for a social intelligence which begins with the knowledge that man has made this entire social structure—its institutions and its values as well—according to the purposes of interest groups, and not according to any God-given plan. There is not a sacred thing in it. Age may prove good service rendered; it does not insure continued service. Nor does mere newness guarantee soundness. There is no inherent value in either holding fast or in making changes. The only test is in the wid-

est well-being offered to men. That intelligence proceeds to sophistication with a thorough understanding of the part which emotion, shaped into subtle propaganda, plays in giving respectability, legality, and divinity to existing forms and ruling groups. It reaches maturity in the growth of mind and heart to the point where the good of humanity rises above selfish gains, long-time values stand above those of the immediate, and love of beauty transcends the accumulation of material things. The hands by their skill must not be permitted to destroy us.

My last suggestion of heart and beauty needs more emphasis. I have performed only half my mission when I recount the wonders of human building and urged the clearing of the air so that intelligence may save us from ruin. It is not enough to be wise. It is necessary also that we be good. Separated from every creed and dogma of human creation, the fact still remains that you must love your neighbor as yourself, if a social order is to live and progress. Men must practice honesty, tolerance, and loyalty; simplicity and wholesome happiness must be ends in themselves if a better way of life is to be found. Whether we like it or not, a better world begins within the human heart.

And woman has ever exerted a wider influence in things ethical and esthetic than in any others. Today her responsibilities do not differ from those of her brother in social matters. Women sit in the councils at Washington; they are by the side of the bandit as well. But their influence in setting values to show a nation what is worth the while is unique in degree. The cultivation of the heart to balance the mind and hand is her opportunity.

Today, as graduates of an American college, you assume the responsibilities of social intelligence. You must be skilled enough to perform well the everyday tasks of living and living better; you must be wise enough to build a saner world than this broken mess we cast at your feet; you must be good enough to want justice done to all men. Then you may inherit the earth.

¹ A Commencement Address delivered before the Senior Class of Scripps College, Claremont, California, June 15, 1934.

Wickham Steed is concerned over "The Future of Warfare" (August *Nineteenth Century*). The only way to avert conflicts is by some potent international organization against war of any and every kind; this involves the renunciation of neutrality by all governments. International conferences have accomplished

little because they do not come under the one overriding principle in the name of which the world can be effectively organized against war and for peace.

The critical nature of the approaching League Assembly meeting is indicated by F. R. Hely-Hutchinson in the August *Empire Review*.

Economic Conditions in Rome and Their Lessons for Us

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Doubt sometimes has been expressed, even by the historians themselves, whether the study of the past can really teach us a lesson regarding the conduct of the future. On the other hand, the more we learn about the facts of ancient life, the more we recognize that the people living millennia, or at least centuries, before ourselves faced, and struggled with, the same or similar problems in regard to the foundations and the functions of society. Contemplating the economic conditions of ancient Rome in order to find out whether we can learn anything from them may guide us in our perplexities of the moment.

We must realize that the topic is far too extensive to permit of a treatment as a whole. Not only are its subdivisions exceedingly numerous, but ancient Rome has had a history extending through not less than twelve centuries in which she grew from a small group of agricultural communities to an empire comprising almost the whole of the world as it was then known, only to return in the end to a condition resembling her beginnings. Thus we are forced to limit ourselves to a few of the most significant expressions of economic life as well as to the period when Rome would seem to offer the closest parallel to our own organization. That is the time of the Empire proper at the period of its greatest apparent strength or, in other words, the time from the second century of our era on. It will be advantageous, however, to treat this period as the outgrowth and result of the work of earlier forces.

Sometime during the second millennium B.C. two branches of a Nordic population made their way from Switzerland and Austria across the Alps into Italy, where they finally occupied, chiefly, the territory on the left bank of the Tiber river and southward as far as the vicinity of Naples. These immigrants were no savages. They knew how to work metals, were familiar with farming and had organized a village life with settlements laid out in regular streets, a market place and a center of religious worship. Not much later than 1000 B.C. one of these two branches, the Latin, settled on one or more of the seven hills rising on the left bank of the Tiber about fifteen miles from its mouth. In constant fights, and sometimes in alliance, with

their neighbors, these Romans extended their territory until, by the middle of the third century, most of Italy south of the Appennine mountains had fallen under their dominion. Another hundred years made Rome the owner of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, of a large part of Spain, the north coast of western Africa and Greece. By the end of the pre-Christian era Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, Egypt, France, and the valley of the Rhine had been added. By the time the Empire had been extended still further, Britain was a Roman province. In the north, Roman territory reached to the right bank of the Danube in its whole length, and in the east the Euphrates river formed the boundary line of Rome's possessions.

This astonishing growth was naturally attended by incisive political, social, and economic changes. Rome had by then turned from an aristocratically governed commonwealth to an absolute monarchy, before whose emperor, theoretically, all men were equal though subjects. Such a statement is, however, superficial and misleading. It was Rome's steadfast policy not to interfere with the local organization of her conquered territory, in so far as it did not form an obstacle to exploitation. For this, it seems to me, is the most salient feature of Roman rule in that it looked upon the "provinces," as these subject countries were called, chiefly as producers of revenue for defraying the expenses of the administration and for the enrichment and embellishment of the capital city. For even though Roman citizenship was gradually enlarged until in the third century of our era every inhabitant of the Empire might claim for himself the proud title of *civis Romanus*, such title meant little for the masses of the population. Representative government was unknown and the voting franchise could be exercised in the city of Rome alone. Naturally where communication existed, if not hazardous it was certainly slow and expensive, only those who lived in or near the capital could vote, so that the people in general lacked all influence on the course of government. They would have been permitted to exercise this right even if under an absolute monarchy. We shall see later how, in spite of this handicap, they found ways to make their opinions felt. Socially, this same condition created a sharp di-

vision between the Romans within the city and the others, and this condition was further accentuated by the economic situation.

Originally, the Roman state had been a peasant community. Each citizen, with the aid of his family and perhaps a few slaves, wrested his living from a small piece of land. Agriculture was largely in the state of "hoe economy" contrasted with the "plough economy," although the latter implement had been known for many generations. Yet it was adapted only to a shallow turning of the soil and needed to be supplemented by the arduous labor of the hoe and the rake. As the Roman possessions were extended by conquest, such small holdings could no longer be worked profitably by individual owners. Some nevertheless continued to be so worked, particularly in the so-called *colonies*, settlements of Roman citizens in the conquered territory, placed there in order to keep the new subjects from rising against their masters.

SLAVE LABOR

On the other hand, it became increasingly necessary to work larger complexes by means of slave labor, if the land was to return a sufficient revenue. Now slaves represent a capital outlay, and with the rise and growth of ever larger estates we come to what may be called the capitalistic feature of Roman economy. The institution of slavery, indeed, forms in itself a check on the unmeasured growth of capitalistic power, because unfree labor is far less efficient than free labor, since the motivation of personal profit is lacking. Add to this the excessive cost of land transport with the primitive conveyances of that time and we can easily understand, first, that the process of driving out the individual farmer was very slow and second, that the large landowners turned to more profitable forms of production than is the raising of grain. They found these in the cultivation of the grapevine and the olive tree; in part also in the grazing of large flocks of sheep and goats, not as meat producers (for the consumption of meat as food in a southern climate is almost negligible and was chiefly satisfied by the breeding of pigs on the homestead), but for their wool and hair. For these the market was all the greater because the two modern staples of the textile industry, linen and cotton, were then almost unknown. Now while wine and oil—we must not forget that in antiquity oil took the place of butter absolutely, and largely also that of lard—yield very great profits, on the other hand they require a considerable initial outlay. This is because for five and fifteen years, respectively, there can be no, or only insignificant, returns from vines and

trees, so that we have in these forms of farming less the appearance of agriculture than that of manufacturing, which can only be carried on as capitalistic enterprise.

When Rome in rapid succession acquired possessions outside of Italy on which she levied taxes payable in kind, particularly from Sicily and Sardinia, which Cicero called the granaries of the state, the life of the individual farmer became ever harder. He incurred debts and had to sell his farm to satisfy his creditors; this was thus added to the already large holding of some wealthy neighbor. The farmer himself might either become a tenant (*colonus*) or he might gradually drift to the capital, Rome, where he helped to swell the ranks of the *proletarii*, consisting in part of small artisans and shopkeepers but in large part also of the permanently unemployed. These men lived at first on private charity which was practised in Rome to a large degree, though not from humanitarian motives. Since the aristocratic, ruling class depended for holding office on the votes of the commoners, candidates for office as well as those actually elected tried to gain adherents and to show their gratitude to the electors by the distribution of food among them. Such distributions occurred with sufficient frequency to enable the proletariat to eke out a rather precarious living.

By the last decades of the second century B.C. this deterioration of conditions had progressed far enough to attract the attention of a real statesman, the elder Gracchus and, later, of his younger brother. Both tried to stem the economic current by what even today may be called radical measures. They proposed to limit the amount of public land, that is of conquered territory, which anyone might occupy to about 300 acres; where before that time many times that amount had been leased from the state. On the lands thus set free they wished to settle, on lots of not more than from fifteen to twenty acres, a large number of the proletariat. Also they proposed to send out "colonists" across the sea, particularly to northern Africa, where the territory formerly belonging to Carthage offered free space. Now, originally the *ager publicus* had, as I said before, been merely leased for occupation. However, only people of means could take over the comparatively large parcels which were to be leased. Since the same people held these lands for long terms, often for several generations, they had gradually come to look upon these parcels not as the property of the state, but as held by them in fee simple. Often the original lessee had even sold his piece to somebody else.

The situation resembles somewhat the condition of a "watered" public utility, which it is proposed

to take over after squeezing out the water: the shares have changed ownership several times; investments made in good faith are placed in jeopardy and it is very difficult, if not impossible, to make any headway against these so-called "vested" property rights. So we find that the Gracchan reforms were defeated by the desperate opposition of the senatorial class, an opposition which took on the appearance almost of civil war, in which the two brothers in succession lost their lives.

Yet their defeat did not stop the agitation for reform. New social changes, indeed, contributed to keeping this agitation alive, since before the end of the second century the character of the Roman army had been thoroughly changed. Formerly it was a body of militia men: the citizen was called out for a campaign and returned to his home at its end. But the continual warfare between 264 B.C. and 146 B.C. had made enormous demands on the recruiting power of the commonwealth; particularly the fifteen years during which Hannibal with his Carthaginians had traversed Italy from end to end, laying waste to and ravishing the open country and calling for ever new levies to resist his armies, had cost the Romans uncountable sacrifices in human life. Now the German invasions of northern Italy and the war with Jugurtha in Africa demanded not only new masses of men for enlistment. These fights also called for much more time spent in actual service and they required a complete revolution in tactics, a revolution which could not be achieved by a cursory training but only by prolonged active service. Thus from a militia the Roman army became one made up of professionals. While the requirement of Roman citizenship was retained, the newly enlisted recruit had to serve for a period of twenty years, and what was still more important, he no longer served without pay and with an equipment purchased at his own expense. He was remunerated for the time of enlistment and received his arms from the state, which thus found itself faced with a new, permanent and considerable expense.

Naturally, the recruits came chiefly from the ranks of the *proletarii*, who found here an honorable and secure livelihood. But as naturally, there grew up in this army an *esprit de corps*, a comradeship, the feeling of belonging together and of forming a *class*, different from those who stayed at home. Again, as naturally these men felt more loyal to the concrete person of their general than to the abstract idea of a fatherland, so that such an army became easily a powerful weapon in the hands of any unscrupulous leader with political ambitions.

TRADING IN ROME

We have so far dwelt chiefly on the conditions of the farming population, which indeed then as now, as it ought to be, was the backbone of the nation. It may, however, well be asked whether there were no commerce and industry. Were there no merchants and manufacturers in Rome? The answer to these questions cannot be given with simple assurance. Some trade there must have been. Indeed, it is the opinion of some scholars that in early ages Rome was largely interested in the salt trade between the northeast of Italy and the south. But we ought to remember, first that Rome was not favorably situated for seaborne commerce. The mouth of the Tiber, seemingly the natural harbor of the city, is subject to much silting; it was in fact, in antiquity so silted and was made accessible to larger ships only in imperial times. Before that the real port of the city of Rome lay almost two hundred miles to the south, on the Gulf of Naples, in the Greco-Oscan city of Puteoli, which was favored by travelers even in the time of the apostle Paul; for on his journey to his martyrdom in Rome it was there that he landed and continued his way to the capital thence overland. Furthermore, we must not forget that the early Rome was flanked, in the north and south, by the two greatest trading nations of antiquity, the Etruscans and the Greeks, while Sicily was largely in the hands of the Carthaginians. Indeed, the oldest commercial treaties of which we know show this weakness of Rome very clearly. Traders from the three peoples mentioned were granted free access to Latium, while the Roman merchant was forbidden to go beyond certain definitely named promontories. Consequently, what little capital there was or could be acquired by trading, lacked the opportunity for profitable investment except in land. To the very latest times we find in Rome a strong prejudice against any other form of profit making, so much so that Cicero says, a merchant who has grown rich may make people forget the sordid origin of his wealth only if he retires from business and becomes a landowner.

One exception to this rule exists, it is true. It was possible and usual to lend money to people needing it. Such persons, however, were chiefly peasants in need or, in later times, foreigners. And here we come to a canker in Roman life which bears a strong resemblance to our own times. The standing armies, of which we have spoken, the almost constant warfare at the frontiers, the providing of food for the proletariat involved a huge public expenditure. Now Romans proper hardly paid any taxes to their government. The revenues came from the provinces. But as we mentioned before, these

revenues were paid almost exclusively in kind, not in specie. No budget can be based on such an uncertain and varying yield. Therefore the Roman state resorted to "tax farming," that is, every five years at least bids were invited to pay the government a certain sum in cash on account of taxes to be collected. The successful bidder paid the state in advance and then recouped himself by collecting the levies in the provinces and selling the produce thus gathered in the open market.

As is easily understood, this is a highly speculative venture and it requires the possession of large means, more certainly than one individual commonly owned. So these bidders formed joint-stock companies for the undertaking, whose shares were bought and sold in the open market, even though no formal stock exchange existed. We may compare this activity to the underwriting of our investment bankers, but must keep in mind that there were comparatively few shares and that there was no deliberate attempt to unload them on the general public. We shall also have to remember that the taxes were not collected from the individual inhabitant of the provinces directly, but that each community was held officially responsible for the amount assessed. Now it would naturally sometimes happen that a community found itself unable to raise the whole assessment from among its members. There was then nothing left but borrowing the money necessary to make up the deficit. The same companies and the same individuals, who farmed and collected the taxes, had almost alone sufficient funds to help out. So they advanced to these communities the needed sums, but at usurious rates of interest. Even in Rome the rates were rarely less than 12 per cent; in the provinces they were usually 4 per cent per month and defaulted interest was regularly added to the principal, with the result that the cities in the provinces fell ever more deeply into hopeless indebtedness.

In the case of foreign debtors, the difficulties experienced in collecting payment led to the same consequences to which they have led in modern times, the use of government authority and force to insure the payment. It is true that the governors sent out to the provinces were charged with protecting the welfare of their subjects. But these men received no salaries; had, in fact, spent large sums in procuring the office, after which they were sent to the province and looked quite often on their administration as the welcome chance to gain back their outlay; the classical case is that of Caesar, who when sent to Spain as governor, had to borrow money to arrange his financial situation, but who repaid all of his debts after his year of administration and had millions still left over. We can then understand that these governors could

easily be induced to participate in the extortions of the tax farmers and the money lenders. Cases such as that of Cicero, who honorably refused to help in collecting the debt which his friend Brutus wished to have repaid by the island of Cyprus, were so rare that they stand out as shining exceptions. But a refusal was not only honest, it was impolitic and dangerous, for it was always easy to find somebody in Rome who would bring a charge of *malfeasance* in office against a returned governor and since the case used to be tried before juries largely drawn from the very class to which the financiers belonged, conviction was more or less certain. For these reasons many governors preferred to play along with the taxfarmers, of course, for a proper consideration. Again, if a tax farming speculation proved to be a costly error, it was not very difficult to make the government forgive, or make restitution for, a part of the bid. Namely, while the senators, the governing class, were forbidden to engage in overseas commerce, they did not infrequently become silent partners of the tax farming entrepreneurs. In one scandalous procedure, in Cicero's time, the government repaid to the company one third of the original bid, a tax refund which, I think, matches fairly well the income tax refunds of our own days.

Neither was industry highly developed in Rome, except for a very few articles. Like in the days of our grandparents, it was a case largely of customs' work, not of manufacturing for distribution on a large scale. All the shops so far discovered are small, unsuitable for the employment of more than twenty to forty workmen. An exception ought to be made chiefly for pottery; the red glazed ware from Arezzo in Central Italy and from Pozzuoli in the south is found all over the west of Europe, until, during the rule of the later emperors, it gives way to imitations, more cheaply made in France and along the Rhine river.

FOREIGN TRADE

Neither was there much gain to be had from foreign trade. In the first place, the conditions found in Italy existed largely also in the provinces; that is to say, almost all industry worked only for local consumption. Second, what foreign trade they had was almost exclusively a luxury trade: spices, perfumes, and precious stones from Arabia, cotton and silks from India via Egypt, glass and purple dyes from Syria, fine woods, costly marbles, and ivory from Africa, furs and human hair for wigs from the northwest of Europe, and amber from the northeast. The descriptions of the enormous luxury of the rich men, which we read in the books of Roman satirists and moralists, become less impressive when we realize that the American work-

man's breakfast surpasses the banquets of the wealthiest Romans in regard to the distances from which its components have come: oranges from Florida, coffee from Brazil, breadflour and cereals from the far northwest, milk from more than perhaps four hundred miles away. Such "imports" which to us seem staple necessities were for the Romans, with the slow means of communication, fabulous spendthriftiness. Now, luxury trade was never very large either in value or in quantity. Furthermore there was little of a corresponding export to pay for what came in. Such trade was almost completely a cash transaction, as is shown by the discovery of Roman coins which cover the ancient world from China to Britain and from the Soudan to the Baltic. Nor was this money outgo balanced by the payment of customs duties. From earliest times and to the end of the empire, Rome pursued in that respect a free trade policy; import duties seem to have averaged no more than about 5% ad valorem and the harbor and transit dues were levied impartially on foreign and domestic trade.

Such were the economic conditions of the Roman dominion when the great change from the republic to the monarchy took place and such, we may say, they remained on the whole for several centuries. For the emperors made few important changes in the administration of the countries under their control. They did, to a large extent, abolish the oppressive institution of the tax farmer and substituted direct taxation, at least in so far as now the communities paid into the treasury directly. But they still retained the responsibility of the community for the individuals composing it. More important is the fact that we can notice a great increase in the numbers of the tenant farmers; for the emperors had succeeded to the crown properties of the eastern monarchs and in part also to the large temple estates and they further increased their huge holdings of land through the confiscation of the lands of those senators who incurred their displeasure and were put to death. All these estates were cultivated as leaseholds, in small parcels, usually being rented to the peasants for a five-year period with the right of renewal. Of this right the renters made a liberal use and we find holdings coming down in the same family of tenants from one generation to another, with consequences that will occupy us a little later. The example set by the emperors was readily followed by other wealthy men; the more so since these people preferred basking in the sun of imperial favor to living on their estates, a condition of affairs which may well be compared to the situation of the French nobility under the last Bourbons or to the Irish absentee landlordism of the last cen-

tury. The same consequences, an increase of the tenant class and the diminution of the individual owners, followed the steadfast policy of the emperors in extending the city franchise to larger village communities. Here also the people within the city confines ceased to live on the farms of the vicinity and rented those out to the actual tillers of the soil.

Thus the contrast between the city dweller, who existed on his income from the capital invested in land, and the tenant farmer, to whom after the payment of his rent usually only a bare living was left, grew to greater and greater proportions. While thus, under cover of a conservative policy, a steady deterioration of the economic structure was taking place, an added impetus was given to this perilous tendency by the monetary policy of the government. Nero first debased the currency by reducing the content of precious metals in the gold and silver coins by about ten per cent. The third century of our era saw the emperors resort to desperate measures: while the *Neronian* silver coin had been worth about seventeen cents of our 1932 money, it was henceforth worth less than a half cent and by the end of the century it had largely become token money only without any precious metal content. This devaluation produced a violent rise in the cost of commodities, from which the farmer did not profit at all since he had almost nothing to sell. On the contrary, he had to pay highly for what he was compelled to buy. The consequence was a reaction in the character of economic management, a return to the oldest, so-called "house economy" or, to use a recent term, an "autarky" in which everything used was produced and manufactured on the farm itself, so that an enormous shrinkage in commerce and industry resulted. Prices constantly rose and currency depreciated at an unprecedented rate; commerce was ruined and the market for industrial products was constantly contracting. It became almost impossible to collect taxes. Tillers of the soil abandoned the by now unproductive farms, and we possess actual petitions by villages in which the inhabitants pray the emperor for tax relief and threaten in case of a refusal to give up any further work. Not many of these unfortunate people could migrate to the city of Rome and avail themselves of the bounties still dispensed there.

If we can trust the somewhat lurid tales of the fiction of that time, large numbers turned to robbery and lived in organized bands of highwaymen, thereby making the small commerce still going on unsafe and thereby also increasing the prices of all commercial goods. At the beginning of the fourth century Diocletian tried to check this decay, but the means which he employed proved futile. He established fixed prices for the various

products; but as before and afterwards, this belief in the economic omnipotence of the state only resulted in a failure that left people worse off than they had been. Since the collection of the taxes in money failed on account of the debased currency, the government returned to a levy in kind, fixed every year the amount needed to be raised and announced this to the subjects. But since nobody now could calculate for any reasonable length of time how much he would be required to contribute and since such a levy opened the doors wide to corruption and favoritism in the assessment of the land, which whether grain bearing or fruitbearing was simply divided into parts of equal size on which a certain amount was to be paid, conditions could only grow worse. Because land does not bear of itself, but only when worked, the taxation was further modified according to the number of the people working on that land. And to assure that there were such workers, the tiller of the soil became now bound to the land and was prohibited from ever leaving it, a measure which was facilitated by the policy of hereditary tenancy of which we have spoken. Thus the farmer became "*glebae ascriptus*;" that is he was turned into a serf, even though nominally he remained a free citizen. No land could be sold without its tenants and no son of a tenant might leave the paternal homestead and migrate, be it to more fertile territory or to the city where he might want to ply a trade.

Thus a caste was created into which a man was born and in which he lived out his life, deprived of every hope of improving his condition. Gradually, this principle was also extended to other occupations besides farming; to artisans and merchants, who thus really became servants of the state and finally it was applied to the upper classes as well, to the so-called *decuriones*; that is the families from which the municipal officials were recruited. The responsibility for the imperial revenues which, as we have seen, rested on the municipality, actually had become a burden on these persons, who faced all sorts of penalties if the revenue fell short. Thus by the end of the century we find the Roman Empire no longer a state of equal citizens, but a country divided into fixed and unalterable castes.

THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE

To maintain such a condition, it had also become necessary to increase the number of imperial officials charged with supervising the various levels of society and, according to the biblical saying "who will guard the custodians," there grew up an elaborate spy and police system coupled with a bureaucracy which took care of, and ordered,

even the most insignificant details of daily life. The fall of the empire really finished not a living state, but merely a dead skeleton; but it left its traces for centuries on the life of medieval society, particularly in the retention of the serfdom of the agricultural population and to a certain extent also in the organization of the guilds which form so significant a part of medieval city life.

We may now well ask ourselves whether we can and ought to learn a lesson from these developments which we have cursorily sketched. Let us briefly outline the most striking among them. First and foremost, we find the continuous submergence of the farmers, who can wrest no more than a mere living and often hardly even that from their property. The process of elimination of the individual holder is indeed in our country older than the last few years. The abandoned farms of New England and New York tell the story of the struggle between individual farming on a moderate scale in competition with the far-spread grain-raising large sections of the West, which, from being a freehold given by the nation, more and more became a capitalistic enterprise, particularly since the advent of farm machinery and its use on a large scale. We all know how the decreasing yield of agricultural products, and the desire of the farmer to make up for this by enlarging the tilled surface, has led to the mortgaging of so many farms and how the inability of the farmer to meet the interest charges caused foreclosures and the scenes of near rebellion of which the newspapers have carried the reports. Since we have not, and I trust never shall, reached the stage when it becomes necessary to retain men forcibly on their farms, we have tried other means: artificial limitation of production, formerly voluntary and then futile on account of the greed of some individuals, now by process of law, in withdrawing submarginal lands from active production and in paying the farmer for the difference of income. Let us not forget that these payments are being made out of the public purse and that this purse can be kept filled only through taxation. Just as the increasing needs of the Roman Empire led the rulers to ever larger demands on the individual, so we shall, at one time or other, have to finance our expenditures for farm aid by raising the demands for actual income. For even though we are at present borrowing, these loans must some day be repaid to the lenders and must in the meantime pay interest to them. Whether we shall be able to carry these burdens or whether, like the Roman emperors, we shall some day be forced to take recourse in compulsory capital contributions, only the future can tell. But we should keep in mind that this danger is always present and that we ought to provide for its aversion, if

we are not, like Rome, to enter into a period of anarchical upsets. Again we must consider whether the contrast between city and country does not resemble the contrast which we sketched in our paper and whether we are willing to assume the responsibility for feeding the unemployed and unproductive proletariat at the public expense. Indications are not wanting that the struggle is coming to a head: we hear persons in what should be responsible public positions, such as senatorships and governorships, advocate a "redistribution of wealth," we hear much talk of the oppression of the debtor class and of relieving this class at the expense of the creditor class, just as if there were really a clearcut borderline between the one and the other. Nor are those absent from our midst who advocate what they consider the painless cure of cheap money; on that precipitous road, indeed, we have already taken some steps, with results that are not yet apparent to the layman, who can only hope for the best. We have also partly embarked

on the adventure of fixing prices for certain classes of goods: it remains to be seen whether our superior planning shall avoid the pitfalls that regularly frustrated all attempts of this sort in former times. Finally, increasingly we are inviting the state to take a hand in the economic life of the nation. Whether this will lead to the socialistic conception of the community life or whether it will lead to similar phenomena as we observed in Rome, where this participation of the state led to stagnation and throttling of all civic life, who can say? Certainly, the difference between the ancient and the modern world is great; perhaps it is great enough to make invalid the consequences which we have seen following these attempts at that time. But this much, it appears to me, may be said: it behooves us to be cautious and to keep before our eyes the disastrous results which have followed in Rome attempts similar to ours, although probably made with far less insight into the economic laws than is at our disposal.

Current Events and Economic Culture

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If other teachers of the social studies are of the same mind as the writer, they approach the teaching of economics with much humility and with some fear and trembling, for at present we cannot be certain as to what is comprised in sound instruction in economics.

Only recently, a distinguished wealthy American told an audience of equally distinguished American business men that "the permanent will of the American people is in the Constitution."

The *permanent* will of the American people! Before he delivered his address, did our distinguished multi-millionaire stop long enough to count how many amendments have been added to the Constitution since 1913? Five in about twenty years! Another may be added by the time this article appears in print. The *permanent* will of the American people! Who knows what our Constitution will contain twenty years hence?

What we regard as radical economic proposals today, very likely the immediate future may regard as conservative, yes, even ultra-conservative. The economics of the future, the gods have not yet disclosed. What man-made institutions, systems, and set-ups, whether political, social or economic, can reasonably be regarded as infallible or permanent? Certainly traditional economic concepts and premises are not standing up very well under the

acid test of current conditions and developments.

One thing, however, is certain. Change, for better or worse, has gone on ever since man first began to think, is now going on, and will go on as long as man continues to think. History shows that only change is permanent. It follows that the teacher who is anxious to get his students unalterably committed to any particular economic belief or system, no matter how traditional it may be, thereby discloses his own unfitness to teach young people economics. Much of the economic thinking that man has done, various forces constantly tend to change in its emphasis. The present is not the future.

WHAT IS ECONOMIC CULTURE?

A part of what economic culture means to the author and its meaning as the expression is employed in this article, these introductory paragraphs set forth. It seems that it is fair to say that many authors of various economic texts, as well as many teachers, evidently attempt to lead students to accept certain economic categories and concepts and to reject others. For instance, how many economic texts published prior, say, to 1930 discuss with entire candor and fairness such questions as government ownership and management of public utilities or the question of Socialism? When

students have finished reading texts dealing with such subjects, almost without exception they conclude that such things are not for the United States, and that to believe in those economic doctrines is both un-American and unpatriotic. The text says so; that settles the question.

With this result accomplished, students are supposed to possess real economic culture. Do they? The point at issue here is not that to believe or to disbelieve in public ownership of public utilities or in Socialism is American and patriotic. The point is that no one can come to possess economic culture via prejudiced instruction and the closed mind.

A person is supposed to possess economic culture, too, when he can talk rather fluently about the economic beliefs of the Kameralists and the Physiocrats; or about the economic theories of Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo, Henry Carey, Frédéric Bastiat, Nassau Senior, and John Stuart Mill; or about the economic concepts held by Taussig, Marshall, Ely, Patten, Carver, Bonar and a number of other contemporary economic writers. Does he?

In economics, as in history, or sociology, or government, our schools and colleges send forth a profusion of schooled ignoramuses. Nowadays, many of us look back upon our courses in economics with wonder, amazement, and indignation. To be able to recite with accuracy the economic teachings of all the economic schools of the past may be excellent mental gymnastics, but to do so furnishes no sure evidence of real economic culture. There is sufficient proof that America is a nation of "economic illiterates."

Evidence of economic culture is fundamentally a habit of mind, not a matter of accumulating economic information and knowledge or accepting traditional economic beliefs. At times, reasoned dissent from a prevailing economic order is not only high-grade patriotism but certification of economic culture as well.

HOW TO SECURE ECONOMIC CULTURE

In an article so brief as this one necessarily must be, it is impossible to give an adequate treatment of the various ways and means by which our students may achieve economic culture. Among the many, those that can be mentioned, briefly are the following:

1. Both teacher and student must appreciate that economics is a *social* study. Economics should never be regarded as a subject incarcerated between two book covers. In reality economics is a subject that deals with social welfare, with human relationships, with activities that attempt to satisfy

the wants of all human beings, poor as well as rich, young as well as old.

The teachers of the social studies throughout these United States have as one of their greatest civic and social duties making perfectly clear to those who are soon to be America's business men, her manual laborers, her teachers, her preachers, and her social workers that economics is a subject that concerns the daily life of themselves, their brothers and sisters, their parents, and their aged relatives. Economics is a matter of living realities, not a matter of cold words on cold pages. Real economics is not in the textbook. It is outside the text, in the everyday life of all of us. Indeed, economics is a *social* study.

2. High school boys and girls will achieve economic structure if the authors of textbooks and teachers will make economics what in reality it is—not an abstruse and mystifying science, but a subject well within the mental achievement of those in their 'teens.

The major trouble with economics in the high schools heretofore, and perhaps in most secondary schools still, is that the subject has been regarded as one that boys and girls could not understand. Stress has been laid on the history of economics, and on memorizing economic definitions and principles evolved long before the United States of America was born.

Every student, as well as every infant, is living in an economic environment. This means that the economics of the classroom should deal fundamentally with human realities; with things and conditions that students can see and observe; with everyday happenings; with problems of human beings in the home, in the store, in the factory, and on the farm. We will, therefore, have our students see that economics deals with actual concrete human experiences in personal, local, national, and international life in the light of their relationship to human welfare. America has been called a nation of economic illiterates. Economic illiteracy will be on the way to oblivion when those who write economic texts and those who teach economics come to regard it as a subject that deals with everyday experiences and is therefore a subject that youth can understand, and really enjoy.

3. Achievement of economic culture depends very largely on the sort of materials used in the classroom.

TEXTBOOKS

Of course students should have an economic textbook and two or more collateral texts. The choice of a text for the economics course is now more than ever before a serious responsibility. Those texts that make the study of economics mostly a matter

of economic history and exposition of economic concepts and beliefs arrived at in the infancy or childhood of economic national life, and therefore make the study of economics largely a matter of mental gymnastics, should be discarded just as soon as humanly possible.

We should place in the hands of students such economic texts as those that disclose a keen awareness of actual modern conditions and problems that produce social changes—texts such as *Our Economic World*,¹ by Atkins and Wubnig; *Our Economic Society and Its Problems*,² by Hill and Tugwell; *Economics; An Introduction to Fundamental Problems*,³ by A. H. Smith; and *Everyday Economics*,⁴ by Janzen and Stephenson.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKLETS

The class should have access to such pamphlets and booklets as those published by The National Industrial Conference Board; the Bureau of Economic Research; the American Education Press—the Unit Study Booklets of the Modern Problems Series; and the National City Bank of New York—the monthly tract called *Economic Conditions; Government Finance; United States Securities*. The additional pamphlets covered in the footnotes should also be used.⁵ Four other booklets are almost indispensable: *Shall the N.I.R.A. Become A Permanent Feature of Our Economic Life?*⁶ by John T. Greenan; *America Must Choose*,⁷ by Henry A. Wallace; *A Primer of the New Deal*,⁸ by E. E. Lewis; and *American Civilization Today: A Survey of Recent Social Trends*,⁹ by Greenan and Patterson.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

To teach a course in economics apart from the use of magazines and newspapers in the classroom is to me unthinkable. If the matter is presented rightly, virtually every student will subscribe to some magazine designed especially for classroom use, such as *Scholastic*, or the *American Observer*, or to a magazine not specially designed for school use, such as the *American Review of Reviews*, *Current History*, *The Forum and Century*, *The Literary Digest*, *Harpers*, *Today*, *Time*, and *Atlantic Monthly*.

In my opinion, it is impossible to over-estimate the value of the newspaper in the teaching of economics. It is indispensable. The newspaper is, among other things, a daily expression or mirror of the economic happenings and the economic thought of a people. Its content causes more discussion and argument than any other vehicle of information, and very likely it is still the most

powerful instrument in forming and molding public opinion. For these reasons, and because young people after graduation will not be going to and from work hugging textbooks in history, science, mathematics, or Latin, but rather reading the newspaper, our business as social-studies instructors is to teach youth how to make the newspaper a chief source of adult education and fruitful self-entertainment, especially in the field of politics and economics.

4. Organizing the content of the course in economics into understandable units will go a long way toward achieving economic culture in young people.

Unless the course is organized around such units, the student is almost sure to get a hodge-podge, medley, crazy view of economics. Studied according to the unitary principle, the student is sure to get a sound comprehension and an illumination of economics. Ordinarily we teach too many topics in economics.

Economic units as I like to word them might be stated somewhat after this fashion:

- a. How human wants are supplied.
- b. How present economic standards of living differ from those of a century ago.
- c. How the levels of living of the present can be raised.
- d. How the industries of the United States are dependent upon each other.
- e. How those living in urban communities and in rural communities are dependent upon each other.
- f. How the economics of N.R.A. differ from the economics of *laissez-faire*.
- g. How society can control machines for the common good.
- h. How the unequal rates of change in our economic and social life can be synchronized.
- i. How the economic efforts of nations can be made to serve the cause of international good will.
- j. How industrial harmony and peace can be achieved.
- k. How all of us help pay the cost of Federal economic undertakings.
- l. How all of us can help remold the economic life of our country.
- m. How the ethical standards of business must be raised to conform with the higher ideals of the present.

What economic topic, theme, program, or happening can the reader think of which could not be fitted educationally into some one or more of these enumerated units? If all such matters can be fitted into these units, why continue to teach economics by way of disjointed and unrelated topics? Why not teach the subject according to the unitary scheme?

CLASSROOM INSTRUCTION IN ECONOMICS

Since space is limited, an inclusive discussion of classroom procedures that tend to result in economic culture cannot be given. Which ones to select is somewhat of a task. Among the ways and means of teaching economics that the writer makes use of, the following ones may be of service to the readers.

1. The use of the text in economics.

In my opinion, based on long experience, the class should spend more time studying materials outside the textbook than they do reading the text, for there is by far more real economics outside book covers than there is inside them. Thus, the text is not to be erected into an economic tin god, possessed of infallibility and worshipped. My students read more than one text on every economic unit studied; they read at least two collateral texts besides the class text. The texts, however, serve the course, not as the be-all and the end-all of economic education. Texts are used as instruments of background knowledge in achieving economic culture.

2. Vocabulary building adds to economic culture.

It is scarcely conceivable that a course in economics, or in any other social-studies course, could be taught satisfactorily unless special attention is given to the proper meaning and the significance of words and especially affected with economic import. Incorrect or erroneous understanding of such terms is a major cause of economic illiteracy.

Of course our students must know the economic signification of such words as capital, labor, production, transportation, consumption, capital goods, interest, rent, profit, money wages, real wages, money, discount, rediscount, wealth, public utility.

One might know the meaning of these old and substantial terms very well and still lack that degree of economic understanding which is so essential in our time. In order to comprehend modern economics the student must keep his vocabulary up to date. No one can understand his morning newspaper unless he is well acquainted with the correct meaning of such terms as economic planning, business cycle, employee representation, collective bargaining, company union, *laissez-faire*, levels of living, over-production, under-consumption, scientific management, rugged individualism, technological improvement, mass purchasing power, economic nationalism, the New Deal, etc.

The meaning of the newer terms should be made clear as they are met in daily work, and the social significance of each expression should be emphasized. This procedure makes words more than mere words.

3. Carefully worded study outlines of economic units further economic culture.

The organization of a Study Outline for an economic unit is a difficult and indispensable teacher-task. It must be done, even though it consumes hours of hard work. Although far from satisfactory, the following Study Outline is one of several that my classes followed in the course during the present school year.

Economic Unit: How the levels of living of the present can be raised.

- I. Meaning of levels of living.
- II. Meaning of our economic and social order.
- III. Radical reformers and the levels of living
 - A. Faults these reformers find in our economic order.
 - B. How the radical reformers would change our economic order.
 - C. Wherein the radical reformers agree and disagree—Socialists, communists, anarchists
 - D. Function of radical reformers in our democracy.
- IV. More conservative reformers and the levels of living
 - A. Defects in our economic order noticed by these reformers.
 - B. How the conservatives would reform our economic order.
- V. Suggestions and plans for raising the levels of living as found in the class magazine.
- VI. Suggestions and plans for raising the levels of living as found in the newspapers.
- VII. General summary of suggested ways and means of raising the levels of living.
- VIII. Vocabulary building.
- IX. Fact questions for class discussion.
- X. Thought questions for class discussion.
- XI. Propositions for class debate.
- XII. Conclusions reached by the student from his study of the problem of raising the levels of living.

4. Use of simpler Study Outlines and economic culture.

At times, during a laboratory period, when I have decided that the class should make a careful study of a particular news item, editorial, or short magazine article that dealt with some special phase of the economic unit under consideration, I have found the following brief Study Outlines decidedly profitable:

Brief Study Outline No. 1

- I. What this assignment is about.
- II. The situation briefly described.
- III. Writer's criticism of the happening.
- IV. Constructive suggestions offered.
- V. Student's opinion of what the writer says.

Brief Study Outline No. 2

- I. Why this question arose.
- II. Points of information in the assignment.
- III. Conclusions reached by the writer.
- IV. Reasons why the student thinks the item worth reading.

Brief Study Outline No. 3.

- I. Statement of problem with which this article is concerned.
- II. Substance of article in numbered statements.
- III. Reasons why the article is of vital concern.
- IV. Student's interpretation of what the article says.

5. How magazine articles may be made to serve the acquisition of economic culture.

From suggestions already made in this article, the reader will readily recognize how and in what manner the following magazine articles, which my students have studied this school year, can be made

to serve the cause of economic culture. The instructor will note how the study of such articles as these lift the topics and problems out of the text into actual human relations.

The headings of some of the articles read: "Reforming the Food and Drug Act"; "Child Labor Amendment Meets New Foes"; "President Asks Curb on Stock Exchanges"; "Banking and Modern Society"; "Eastman Urges Ultimate U. S. Rail Control"; "Your Government Builds Homes"; "Is Our Constitution Obsolete?"; "Regional Planning"; "Dawn in the Tennessee Valley"; "Colossal Spending Program Wins Popular Support"; "Shall We Keep the N.R.A.?" "Taxation and Social Control"; "Morality for a New Economic Age"; "Secretary Wallace's Internationalism."

6. How newspapers may help in the attainment of economic culture.

Most of my students read the same newspaper. Where such a situation exists, both teacher and students are fortunate, because all concerned can read and criticise the same thing. A considerable number of the students have access to two or more newspapers. This is fortunate, too, because a variety of correspondent and editorial opinion broadens the student's view of current economic questions, shows that intelligent people differ in their opinions on public problems, and leads the class to arrive at more reasonable judgments on economic affairs than they otherwise would.

From the hundreds of newspaper clippings that each of my students has read and handed in to me this year, the following captions indicate the range and nature of economic education to which they have been exposed:

"Can Business Govern Itself?"; "Does Economic Nationalism Make for Peace?"; "Remedies for the Railroads"; "Prosperity or Poverty"; "The Wave of Strikes: A Vast NRA Problem"; "National Planning: Labor's Point of View"; "Company Unions: A Vast Industrial Issue"; "Planning America's Farm Future"; "An Epochal Budget"; "Long-Range Social Planning"; "Insurance for Unemployed: Various Plans Put Forward."

7. Finding conclusions, and drawing conclusions, is one of the most effective ways of acquiring economic culture.

The sort of conclusions that I have in mind may be described as sound inferences or reasoned judgments. They are based upon facts and good reasoning. I am inclined to believe that teachers pay altogether too little attention to this important matter. Usually we fail to discover the kind of economic conclusions that exist in the minds of our students. Not students merely, but even newsboys and street cleaners can tell the President how the United States Government should be managed, and what the Congress should do to bring economic

salvation to America. Of what real value, however, are the conclusions that all of us have reached about industry, financial matters, labor troubles, the relation of government to economic problems, and similar questions?

Our students should be asked to list important conclusions that they discover in the text, in magazine articles, in editorials, in newspaper articles, and in such valuable economic materials as the *Introduction of Recent Social Trends* written by President Hoover's research committee, in NRA booklets, and in other economic pamphlets such as have already been mentioned in this article.

We should also ask our students to list their own conclusions on the various economic questions and problems studied in the course.

All such conclusions should be more than listed. They should be submitted to frank, fearless, and friendly examination and class discussion. Many a student learns a lot of genuine economics by attempting to defend before his classmates his own conclusions about economic matters. This procedure makes conclusions into problems for class discussion. I am sure that this sort of work makes for better education than does the antiquated recitation of textbook facts.

8. The discussion of thought questions and fact-thought questions most assuredly should be a large factor in the students' acquisition of economic culture.

There are some teachers who still make light of what are known as thought questions. They appear to think that to discuss this type of question means waste of time and leads to superficial thinking. If good education does not issue from this kind of classroom work, the teacher alone is the culprit. Very likely he has not thought deeply enough about the problem of framing thought questions. When properly put, such questions demand knowledge of facts and principles. The teacher should never allow students to answer thought questions superficially.

Note, for instance, the *ifs*, *ands*, the *whys*, and *wherefores* of economics that a student must know in order to answer sensibly such questions as these:

Are there any current public questions that do not have an economic aspect? Why does one invention lead to another and to the establishment of new industries? Is it time that we said farewell to *laissez-faire*? Can you name thirty various industries and markets that are connected with the manufacturing of an automobile? Should anyone be allowed to enjoy a livelihood without working for it? Are business cycles unavoidable? By what ways and means could wealth be redistributed? Is it true that "reform, to be useful and durable, must be gradual and cautious"? Is it right that one person should receive barely enough to live on,

while another person receives more than he can spend on himself and his family? Is it the duty of students to study the beliefs and the criticisms of the so-called radical reformers? Is it wrong that employers pay their workers only during the months of seasonable operation, while they continue to pay dividends to stockholders for twelve months of the year? Is it the duty of all industrial workers to join a labor union and support it consistently?

9. Discussion of significant propositions in the classroom is still another effective way to advance economic culture.

The very way in which questions are posed sheds the light of truth and knowledge upon economic education. This is equally true of well-worded, thought-provoking propositions for class discussion. If the social studies are to be socialized, and socialized they should be, much depends on what we ask students to think about.

Again, the reader is asked to note the range of economic facts and principles that the student would necessarily be compelled to draw upon, were he to discuss with intelligence, insight, and vision the following propositions:

In the last analysis, human wants can be supplied only by work.

"Economic nationalism no more belongs to this age than ox-carts."

The type of men who hold political office has more to do with the economic welfare of a people than do types of government.

America's economic system needs a thorough over-hauling.

As time goes on, the need for government control and regulation of business becomes more and more imperative.

NRA should become a permanent feature of our economic life.

We should have a national law to the effect that an individual could bequeath to his relatives not more than two million dollars.

Our economic progress has been due above all to improvements in the production of wealth. American prosperity depends upon international trade.

All the banks in the United States should be organized into a unified Federal banking system.

History shows that prosperity contains the seed of depression.

Economic planning is the exact opposite of *laissez-faire*.

The solution of economic problems can be found only through maintaining an experimental attitude.

The end of all economic enterprises should be

not things and money, but more contented and finer human beings.

ESTABLISHING AN ECONOMIC VIEWPOINT

The essence of what is believed by the author, as set forth in this paper, about the teaching of economics is this: the chief outcome of all economic instruction should be that of creating in youth the social point of view, that the welfare of human beings is more important than the getting of money-riches. The love of money is still the root of evil.

It is not my purpose to create tariff protectionists or free traders; nor to make Democrats or Republicans; and I am certainly not interested in getting young people to hate Socialists or detest Socialism. Such a mission can be left for propagandists and politicians.

The aim is to train students to be afraid of no economic ideas, no matter from what source they come. I am anxious that those who come under my instruction shall maintain the open mind, and that they shall take great delight in studying and discussing every economic question on its merits, not on the basis of preconceived notions, or prejudice, or political bias.

Our rising generations should be led to believe that things and possessions in themselves are of no value; but that things and possessions in relation to human welfare are of infinite worth.

The Preamble to the Constitution declares that government exists to "promote the general good" and to "establish justice." To see that this objective is achieved is the supreme objective of the study of economics.

The purpose of the study of economics is to put meaning into the hour and its duty.

¹ New York: Harpers, 1934.

² New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1934.

³ New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934.

⁴ New York: Silver, Burdett, latest 1934 edition.

⁵ Unit Study Booklets; Modern Problems Series. New York: American Education Press, 1932.

National Crisis Series. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

John Day Pamphlet Series. New York: John Day Co.

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The Library of Congress, Division of Documents. Monthly Check-List of State Publications. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

Looking Forward—Discussion Outlines. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1932, 1933, 1934.

⁶ Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

⁷ New York: Foreign Policy Association.

⁸ Philadelphia: McKinley Publishing Co.

⁹ New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Current Events in World Affairs¹

GEORGE H. E. SMITH

EUROPE

Armaments—German Nationalism—The "Purge"
Hitler über Alles—Territorial Problems
Anschluss—The Austrian Crisis
Alarm Over Europe

Black clouds hung low over Europe and deep rumblings heralded the approach of the twentieth anniversary, on June 28, 1934, of the Sarajevo assassination, the spark that touched off the World War in the summer of 1914. Again, as twenty years before, Europe was uneasy and in fear. True, there has been no post-war Agadir, no Moroccan crisis, no Balkan conflicts jealously and grimly watched by the larger interested nations, and no delicately balanced alliances of Powers feverishly arming against each other and waiting for the signal to strike. The situation today seems more like the decade preceding 1905. But the anxiety of the Europe of 1934 did not grow out of imaginary things. It rested upon hard facts developed and recorded during the post-war years.

There were three principal causes giving ground for fear. They are: (1) the international—principally the European—armament situation; (2) the recrudescence of German nationalism particularly in the form given to it by the Nazi domination since Hitler rose to power; and (3) the territorial situation which has its roots in the new map of Europe created by the peace treaties. Those three things stand out in sharp relief against the background of an economic depression which still holds Europe, as well as the rest of the world, in the grip of economic stagnation and insecurity. They go a long way to explain the crisis that faced Europe when on July 25, 1934, Austrian Nazis murdered Chancellor Dollfuss in an attempt to seize control of the Austrian Government. There is space only for a brief examination of each one of these situations.

THE ARMAMENT SITUATION

At the close of the World War the victorious nations disarmed the conquered nations so as "to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all the nations." Article 8 of the League Covenant promised to give practical effect to the hope of disarmament by providing for procedure and machinery to control national armaments and the traffic in war material.

More than ten years were spent in the study

of plans for disarmament and security before the World Disarmament Conference met on February 2, 1932. Germany, principal among the defeated nations, did much to force the meeting of the Conference. She insisted that the other nations either keep their implied pledge to reduce their arms to the level set for her in the peace treaty, or waive their objections to the increase of her armaments to the level of theirs. This issue respecting the equality of armaments, together with the conflicting views of the French and British-American delegates on the question of security, has agitated the Conference from the outset, preventing the achievement of any positive results up to the present moment.

The International Sky Darkens

Meanwhile the international situation took on a troubled aspect. Owing to its inability to solve many of the post-war problems arising between the nations, and to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in the fall and winter of 1931, the League of Nations suffered a set-back in prestige. Japan gave notice in no uncertain terms that she would allow no interference with her "interests" in the Far East by other countries. Side by side with the building of the peace machinery through the League and such agreements as Locarno, the non-aggression pacts, and the Kellogg Anti-War Treaty, the old system of alliances—little more than thinly veiled military understandings—reasserted itself; and the fact of "encirclement" of Germany by hostile groupings became too clear to be glossed over. Exploiting the charges of war-guilt forced upon Germany by the victorious Powers, Adolf Hitler rose from obscurity to the supreme power in the Reich and demanded for Germany "equality, respect, and her rightful place in world councils."

Territorial "sore spots" created by the peace treaties took on the appearance of gaping wounds in the eyes of the interested nations. International trade decreased in volume and value as each nation sought desperately to protect its internal economy by tariffs, quotas, licenses, exchange controls, and

other devices of regulation. Trade became a conflict with weapons almost deadlier than arms. With the collapse of the American security market in the fall and winter of 1929-1930, and the failure of the Austrian Credit-Anstalt in the spring of 1931, the whole fabric of reparations, intergovernmental debts and private international finance, fell apart.

The Armament Race Approaches the Home Stretch

Such an international situation was fertile ground for the seeds of political and economic insecurity and fear. Instead of disarming, nations were arming again to the teeth. France had built a wall of steel and TNT along her entire eastern frontier against Germany and Italy. She had negotiated "defensive understandings" with other nations which practically isolated Germany, giving Hitler and the Reich grounds for a furious resentment which found vent in almost unbelievable internal repression at home and a policy of ultranationalism toward the outer world. There have been rumors recently of an Anglo-French accord similar to the tacit understanding reached by them prior to 1914.

Annual expenditures on world armaments are now approximately \$5,000,000,000, double the amount spent in the last year before the outbreak of the war in 1914. Large standing armies are maintained in every country. Reservists are being trained and held in readiness, while hundreds of thousands of citizens are being enrolled in semi-military organizations. Although the German military forces were limited by treaty to 100,000 men, she has built up a large force through such devices as "internal police," various politico-military organizations, and "protective guards." Thus, there is the *Reichswehr* (the official army) of 100,000 men, the *Schutzstaffel* (the S.S., or protective guard) of about 200,000 men picked from Hitler's army, the *Stahlhelm* (Steel Helmets) an organization of war veterans numbering almost a million, the *Geheime Staatspolizei* (the secret police created by General Goering) whose numbers are kept secret, and finally, Hitler's brown-shirted Storm Troops (the S.A.) whose numbers range between two and three million men. These forces are by no means a unified, efficient military organization, but they have the potentialities of becoming one, and thus cast a dark shadow over European peace. Counterbalancing it, as well as acting for their own interests, are some 617,750 French troops, an army of 414,859 in Italy, 265,980 Polish troops, 151,435 Czechoslovakians, 240,501 in Rumania, and 211,592 in Yugoslavia. The

U.S.S.R. has approximately 562,000 men under arms.²

Thus, fifteen years after the "war to end war" the powder barrel of Europe is again brimful, and any "incident" may set it roaring. For a time, the Austrian situation threatened to precipitate the holocaust, but the moment was not ripe.

THE RESURGENCE OF GERMAN NATIONALISM

The success of the Allied armies and the internal collapse left Germany to face the post-war years crushed and impotent. By the peace treaties she lost much of her home territory, her colonies, her navy, and her merchant marine. The size of her military forces and equipment was strictly limited. Her freedom to form alliances was greatly restricted. An impossible burden of damages or reparations was fixed upon her resources and economy. Her isolation during the war had lost for her many of her former markets. For a time part of her territory was occupied by alien troops. Her pride and self-respect as a nation was humbled by the forced acceptance of the sole guilt for the war. A form of republican government, unfamiliar to the psychology and conduct of the German people, was literally forced upon her.

In the intervening years to Adolf Hitler's accession to power, Germany performed the amazing feat of re-establishing her individuality as a sovereign nation. It was not an easy task; there were some anxious moments; and there were many setbacks. But Germany's entrance into the League of Nations in 1925 under the adroit and conciliatory tactics of Stresemann marked the achievement of her political independence. The Lausanne Conference in July, 1932, literally ended reparations payments, despite the qualifications that were hedged about the agreement, and thus practically established her financial autonomy. Her internal economic structure was repaired and large sections of it rebuilt principally through the aid of American loans made in the years before 1929.

By these steps the confidence of the German people was gradually being restored. But the depression intervened. It cut down foreign markets, reduced the flow of funds from abroad, stirred her creditors to intense efforts to obtain the security and payment of the moneys due them, increased unemployment, and curtailed the profits of German industrial enterprises. Otherwise Germany might have, in the words of Hindenburg's "political will," . . . "step by step, therefore, without provoking an overpowering opposition (loosened) the shackles that fettered us." Such has been the masterful strategy during the post-war years and it has been successful. Only two "shackles" remained before

the Hitler star zoomed across the German nation. They were: arms equality and independence, and territorial adjustments.

The Rise of Hitler and German Ultra-Nationalism

But the depression brought new troubles to upset the strategy of the Reich. Although these troubles were bound up with foreign relations—political and economic—they particularly affected the German internal politics and had to be met within the Reich itself. In 1930, there were more than 27 political parties represented in the Reichstag. President von Hindenburg watched one Cabinet after another form under him, attempt to achieve a national unity, and fail. Uncertainty spread confusion in Germany's foreign relations as well as in her domestic affairs. With the economic crisis came the demand for rule by arbitrary emergency decrees.

Exploiting foreign aggression against the Reich, promising relief to the suffering German masses, and financed by the great industrialists, Hitler made his bid for power. He had begun as early as 1919. He had been defeated and jailed in an attempted "coup" in 1923. In 1928, the Nazi party won 12 seats in the Reichstag election. In September, 1930, they gained 107 seats. In 1932, Hitler was strong enough to oppose Hindenburg for the presidency, and the Nazi party won 230 seats. In rapid succession thereafter Hitler made several attempts to gain power, but each time was repulsed by Hindenburg; until finally, in January, 1933, the President yielded and Hitler was made Chancellor of the Reich.

Although he was a tremendous rallying force for the German people, President von Hindenburg now receded to the background. Hitler secured dictatorial powers in March, 1933, authorized the nation-wide boycott of the Jews that began in April, withdrew Germany from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference in October, and began a course of economic readjustments, accompanied by political and religious repression throughout the country. Foreign governments became excited over Hitler's demand for arms equality for they viewed the semi-military organizations as rising threats to their own peace and security. Feelings abroad were now intensified by Hitler's treatment of the Jews, by the trade conflicts attending Germany's attempt to achieve economic self-sufficiency, and by the financial policies which Hjalmar Schacht initiated toward Germany's foreign creditors.

As the full force of Germany's reasserted nationalism had been felt first within the country, so the first signs of a reaction appeared there also.

Vice-Chancellor von Papen, representative of autocracy and entrenched business interests, in a speech delivered at Marburg University on June 24, 1934, inveighed against the "class dominancy" springing from "popular sovereignty." He spoke of the "necessity for creating a new social order," and by his reference to "divine" rule left no doubt about the kind of social order he had in mind. He regarded, he said, the displacement of the multi-party system by a single party "as only a transition stage." He deplored religious policies by which Germany would "exclude herself from the community of Christian nations" (von Papen is a Catholic). "Let us beware of the danger," he said, "of excluding intellectuals from our nation and let us remember that everything great comes from the mind even in politics." He deplored the campaign of repression when he declared "It is a wholly reprehensible notion that a people can be united through terrorism." He rejected all tendencies toward a planned economy and collectivism. He criticized the uncertainty of policies, the failure to tolerate honest critics; and he called for a "joining together in fraternal love and respect for all fellow-countrymen."

The speech made an uproar. The foreign press made a great deal of it and placed upon it many interpretations quite unflattering to Hitler. Beneath its surface praise of "Der Fuehrer," the speech sharply attacked Hitler's recent course and the policies of his associates. There was much talk of von Papen's "resignation," but Hindenburg's prompt telegram of congratulation to the minister checked any action Hitler might have taken. It was not until after the outbreak of the trouble within the Nazi ranks that Hitler, bearing von Papen's resignation in his pocket, flew to Neudeck to consult Hindenburg; and yet no action was taken. But the speech had another effect far more serious than mere criticism of the Hitler regime. It gave heart to an element within the Storm Troops which had begun to draw away from Hitler, giving rise to considerable talk of "a second revolution after the revolution."

The "Purge"

Despite the outward signs of full support for Hitler, there was ample evidence, it is now conceded, that a rift in the Nazi ranks was widening underneath and rapidly coming to the surface. Claiming that a rebellion against his leadership was brewing, Hitler struck first. Flying from Bonn to Munich in the early morning of June 30, he ordered the arrest of the Chief of Staff of the Storm Troops, Ernst Roehm, and his associates who were alleged to be the center of the disaffec-

tion. On Hitler's orders Premier Goering took similar action against others in Berlin. The move was accompanied with summary action against many men hitherto prominent in the Nazi party. All in all, some seventy-seven men were executed according to official statements, although unofficial sources placed the number as high as two hundred. Among them were Roehm, General Kurt von Schleicher (Hitler's predecessor as Chancellor) and his wife, Karl Ernst, Group Leader of the Berlin Storm Troops, three of von Papen's secretaries—Bose, Tschirschky and Kluge—and Heinrich (Erich) Klausener, chief of the Catholic Action party. The excitement and uncertainty did not subside for several days. It was not until July 4 that Hitler, believing himself firmly in the saddle, declared the end of "summary executions" and the re-establishment of the processes of "normal justice." Later on both Hindenburg and the Cabinet accepted and gave official sanction to the "purge."

It is difficult to assign a meaning to the events of June 30, for many interpretations are offered. Certainly discontent in such high quarters showed that Hitler's leadership was not fully acceptable to the country. The men involved may have felt that substantial support from the people would uphold an effort to seize power from the hands of the Nazi leader. If they were right in that assumption, the June 30 event is important in gauging the future security of Hitler's position. The event showed also that Hitler was drawing away from the German masses (assuming the Storm Troops symbolize the broad, lower strata of population) which had raised him up to power.

It showed also that he was inclining more toward conservative policies and dependence upon the Reichswehr (regular army). With Hindenburg becoming physically weaker it was natural that Hitler, knowing the importance of having support from the strongest military group in the Reich, should seek to succeed Hindenburg in command over the Reichswehr. This may be put down as a strategic attempt to abandon a weak popular support for stronger and more reliable backing. Again, the pressure of the reactionary and conservative forces was doubtless becoming strong enough to control Hitler and force him to temper his course. The first step would naturally be to shake off his more extreme followers. Finally, there is always the fact that no political dictator can remain long in power without alienating many of his supporters as well as raising up more hostility among his opponents. This has happened in Russia, principally under Stalin's leadership (the Trotsky break), and in Italy under Mussolini. It has been evident elsewhere, even in the United States where opposition

is slowly crystallizing against the sweeping executive powers and general policies of the Roosevelt regime. (Witness the continual internal shakeups in the administration and the formation recently of the "American Liberty League.") In Germany for the moment, however, Hitler has stolen a march on disaffection and appears to be stronger than before.

Hitler über Alles

Fast on the heels of the "cleansing" of the Nazi party, came the illness and death of President von Hindenburg on August 2, 1934. No other man could take the place of the "grand old man" in the hearts of the German people. Realizing this, Hitler refused to take the title of President, while at the same time he took over the functions of the presidency. The Cabinet issued a decree to that effect and made preparations for a vote of the whole German people on the fusion of the powers of the two offices. After a brief campaign of propaganda, clearly one-sided because of Nazi control over the press, the vote was held on August 19. Of the 43,438,378 ballots cast, 38,279,514, or almost 90 per cent, were marked "Yes" in support of Hitler's enlarged powers. Notwithstanding this overwhelming vote of approval, much was made of the number of "No" votes, "spoiled" ballots, and "total abstainers." The number of abstainers was not reported, but the "No" votes and "spoiled" ballots totalled over 5,000,000, about double the number of votes dissenting from Hitler's policies in the election held in November, 1933. Commentators draw from this the idea that opposition to Hitler within Germany is small, but growing.

It is unnecessary to enumerate or speculate upon all of the powers Hitler now enjoys as supreme head of the Reich. He has the supreme legislative power, the undisputed executive authority, and vast powers over the judiciary. He is commander-in-chief over the army, the navy, and air forces. He has absolute power in the conduct of foreign relations. Scarcely any other head of a government, save perhaps Mussolini, possesses powers so absolute and so extensive. The "Republic" and the Weimar Constitution, upon which foreign powers placed such high hopes in the early post-war years, are practically obliterated. Hitler's rise from the obscurity of a house painter has indeed been spectacular, and in the last few years, amazingly rapid. What he will do with this power is a question that now engages the attention and stirs the apprehension of the world.

THE TERRITORIAL SITUATION

Before the war Central Europe had been dominated by two great Powers, Germany and the

Austro-Hungarian Empire. Within each one there was a unified political control and a certain degree of economic balance. The war altered that situation. By the Treaty of Versailles and the associated compacts of St. Germain, Neuilly, and Trianon, Germany was deprived of territory and the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dismembered to create the independent nations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Today, with a greatly reduced Germany, Austria, and Hungary, these new nations represent a kind of "Balkanization" of Central Europe. In this setting appear the territorial problems now confronting Europe.

Danzig and the Polish Corridor

Only the more important of these problems can be mentioned. There is the Polish Corridor—a strip of land, formerly German, which was given to Poland to provide her with an outlet to the sea. This territory divides Germany into two parts, separating East Prussia from the rest of the Reich. In the post-war years much friction developed between Germany and Poland over this awkward situation; and over Danzig, the German City adjoining the Corridor, which had been made a Free City under the supervision of a High Commissioner of the League of Nations. Notwithstanding the conclusion of a Polish-German ten-year treaty of amity on February 24, 1934, the issue over the Polish Corridor casts a heavy shadow over the peace of Europe. It is no secret that Germany is not reconciled to the break in her territorial unity; and Poland, keenly aware of the German feeling, finds no peace in her possession of the area. A flare-up upon any question in any part of Europe increases the strain which the Corridor question has created.

The Saar

On the opposite frontier, just south of Luxembourg, on the new boundary between France and Germany, lies the Saar Territory, an area of some 730 square miles with an overwhelmingly German population of more than 800,000 persons. This area was temporarily detached from Germany at the close of the World War and placed under a League governing commission to be administered for the benefit of France as compensation for the destruction of French coal mines. After fifteen years of League control, the inhabitants of the territory are to have the privilege of voting either to return to Germany, become French in allegiance, or continue under the rule of the League. The League Council has fixed the date for the vote for January 13, 1935; and will take account of the wishes of the people in the subsequent disposition of the territory.

But all this is not so prosaic as it appears. Already an intense campaign for votes has begun to agitate the people of the Saar Valley. The German Nazis look upon a vote favorable to them as a foregone conclusion, but they are taking no chances. They are secretly organizing storm troops in the area, intimidating sections of the population known to be hostile to them, and have even gone so far, as alleged in the report of the Saar governing authority, as to create a "clandestine administration side by side with the legal government." All this Nazi activity in the Saar seems to confirm the fears of the Saarlanders over the conduct of the Nazis in Germany. The destruction of the trade unions and the mistreatment of the Jews and Catholics in Germany have caused many Saarlanders to oppose a transfer of the district to a government responsible for such repression.

On the other hand, since Lorraine whence the Saar gets its iron ore is now a part of France, economic relations of the Saar are principally associated with the French. At the present time, few difficulties attend the inter-relationship between the iron of French Lorraine and the coal of the Saar, between the foodstuffs of French Alsace and the industrial products of the Saar. A return to Germany would disrupt this relationship and force many new adjustments.

Yet love for the fatherland burns strong in the hearts of the Germans in the Saar; and it is generally believed that when the vote is recorded, the decision will be for a return to Germany. The great danger in the situation for Europe is not so much the final decision of the Saarlanders as it is the state of affairs that will accompany the campaign until election. Out of the conflicts between French and Germans, between the inhabitants of the Saar and those who may seek to influence the vote, may come a crisis formidable enough to draw all of Europe into the fray.

Other Territorial Tensions

There appear to be many other territorial maladjustments any one of which, in a continent swept by violent racial, religious, economic and political animosities, might supply the spark to set Europe in flame. There is the South Tyrol, the territory south of the Brenner Pass containing more than 200,000 German-speaking people, which was given to Italy as a buffer against Austria. There are areas along both the Czechoslovak and Hungarian frontiers, arranged partly for reasons of military strategy, which are in a state of constant unrest. Eastern Galicia, inhabited by a majority of Ruthenians, was given to Poland; and the administration of this area against the opposition of many of its inhabitants has sorely taxed the Polish authori-

ties for years. Smaller areas, like the Eupen-Malmedy under Belgian control, and Southern Dobruja, inhabited by Bulgarians but under Rumanian control, are points of friction none the less menacing merely because they are too small to be included in the larger issues that strain European diplomacy.

"Anschluss"

Although not a territorial conflict in the strict sense, the situation involving Germany and Austria raises up a problem of the first magnitude. An old plan, dear to the heart of many Germans, was the creation of a great Mittel-Europa. That plan was shattered by the World War and the subsequent dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Austria has been in a pitiful state during the post-war years. Vienna was once the center of an Empire of more than fifty million people; today, it is the capital of a State embracing less than seven millions. Austria lost many of her industries, has been deprived of her ready access to the grain fields of Hungary, and now lives literally on the "dole" of the Powers whose loans, through the League, have barely staved off total bankruptcy. Many influential Austrians see in a union with Germany at least a chance to escape from the continual strain of a hopeless situation. Such a union, they urge, would establish a harmonious relationship since there are many factors—linguistic, cultural, economic, and political—capable of knitting the two countries together.

But Austria and Germany are not free agents in the matter. By the combination of Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain and the Geneva Protocol which Austria signed in 1922, Austria is prevented from doing anything to compromise her independence. The interest in Austrian independence has its roots deep in European politics. France fears that a Great Central European Power will cut her off from her allies, Poland and the Little Entente. An independent Austria is at least a link, albeit a weak one, in the chain of "encirclement" which France has forged around Germany. A German-Austrian union would raise up such a Great Central European Power and split that chain. Through association with Hungary, an almost inevitable development, this union would erect a powerful and hostile force stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Balkans.

To Italy also, an independent Austria seems indispensable. It forms a buffer State between Germany and the Italian northern frontier which now encloses a considerable German-speaking population. A German-Austrian union would set up a constant threat along the Italian frontier; and through an arrangement with Yugoslavia, which is not at all friendly to Italian interests, might carry

such a threat to the shores of the Adriatic. Through France and Italy, the other European States are swept into this deep-seated conflict. A German-Austrian union is thus a problem engaging all of Europe. Since this is so even the remotest nations, through their interest in the peace of the world, are forced to pay close attention and even take part in the developments concerning it.

On several occasions moves in the direction of a union (*Anschluss*) have been made. In the spring of 1931 a projected "customs union" between the two countries was announced. While this was given all the appearances of keeping Austrian independence, there was genuine fear that it might easily develop into a real union in all but name. So vigorous were the protests raised up against the project that it was abandoned.

Then came the rise to power of the Nazis in Germany. Meanwhile Nazi organizations, policies, and tactics, appeared in Austria. If union could not be attained in one way, it might be done in another. A Nazi control in Austria might so harmonize the economic and political policies with those in Germany as actually to make a union by uniformity. Independent events in Austria coming to maturity favored such a development.

Summary

Here then are three major situations—armaments, territorial difficulties, and the resurgence of German nationalism—all widely different in content and yet having much in common. When a particular event, no matter how isolated, runs athwart of the threads that bind them together in the thought and feeling of Europe, a crisis of the first order is likely to follow. Such an event was the murder of Chancellor Dollfuss in an attempt of the Austrian Nazis to seize power on July 25, 1934. It threw all Europe into uncertainty and fear.

The Austrian Crisis

During the two years that Dr. Dollfuss ruled Austria he was fated to preside over a sharp struggle for power between Fascists, Socialists, and Nazis. When he dissolved Parliament and assumed dictatorial powers in the spring of 1933, he became the object of attack by all three factions. Until he ruthlessly suppressed the Socialists in February, Dollfuss had been fairly well-supported in his fight against the Nazis. After that Austrian internal history was a series of plots, propaganda, bombings, and terrorism.

About noon on July 25, the Austrian Nazis made an overt attack on the Government. One group broke in upon a Council of Ministers, murdered Dr. Dollfuss, and held the others as prisoners and

hostages. Another much smaller group seized the Austrian broadcasting company's radio station, Ravag, and forced the broadcasting of an announcement that the Dollfuss Cabinet had fallen and that a new ministry was being formed. Other groups swept down upon various centers in the outlying districts, and fighting commenced in Styria, Selzthal, Salzburg and Aussee.

The revolt was unsuccessful and short-lived. The principal group of Nazis held the ministers and several government workers as prisoners at the Chancellery all day. But towards evening they realized that additional support for their cause had failed to materialize, and that opposing government forces were rapidly getting the upper hand. They entered into negotiations for a safe conduct out of the country, and by an appeal to Herr Reith, the German envoy, were given permission to enter Germany. They then released the prisoners and expected to gain transportation across the German border. Instead they were arrested on a technical construction of the "safe conduct" agreement.

Elsewhere the revolt failed also. Prince von Starhemberg, Vice-Chancellor and leader of the Heimwehr (Home Guard), who was in Venice when the outbreak occurred, returned hurriedly and took charge of the government forces. For several days there was considerable fighting in the provinces, but at no time was the official government in serious danger. Not more than 200 Nazis were involved in the Vienna activities, but the numbers in the outlying districts must have been much larger. Several hundred were either killed or arrested, while it was reported that large numbers crossed the adjacent borders into Bavaria and Yugoslavia. President Miklas named Dr. Kurt Schusschnigg as Chancellor, the government forces tightened their control, opposing elements were driven to cover, and in a few days order was restored.

Alarm Over Europe.

By the outside world the affair might have been set down merely as a party struggle which ended in violence, but the incident cut deeply into the problems sorely besetting all Europe. Only a few weeks before, when on a visit to Mussolini, it is alleged, Hitler gave assurances he would do nothing

to interfere with Austrian affairs. Nevertheless, in Munich, Theodor Habicht, a German Nazi, had been active in fomenting trouble in Austria. It was said that Austrian Nazis used German territory as a base of operations. Again, it was the German Minister Reith who acceded to the appeal of the defeated Austrian Nazis for safe conduct into Germany. Moreover, as the Heimwehr pressed down upon them, the Austrian Nazis found it easy to cross the German border in large numbers. All this gives color to the belief that Hitler, although refraining from direct activity himself, was tacitly sympathetic to the Nazi aspirations in Austria and would have welcomed a successful *coup*. On the other hand, when the situation was most tense, Berlin declared officially that Germany had no hand in the events, and did not intend to interfere.

From the first announcement of the uprising, Italy took on all the appearances of impending war. Mussolini gave orders for Italian forces to be in readiness to move across the border should Austrian independence be in danger, or should Germany take a hand in developments. A force of 75,000 was massed along the Austrian frontier. Press announcements clearly indicated Mussolini's determination to act quickly and decisively; although it was later stated that he would have done nothing without consultation with France and England.

With Italian preparations exciting her fears and cupidity, Yugoslavia was reported ready for similar action should Italian troops move across the Austrian frontier. Undoubtedly impressed by the vigor with which Mussolini might pull French chestnuts out of the fire, France adopted a "waiting" attitude, and was reported merely "holding herself in readiness." For a brief moment the situation resembled that of July, 1914. The slightest aggravating incident might have loosed the "dogs of war." Then the tension subsided, and history may record a "minor crisis" as in the past it has recorded similar crises such as Agadir and Morocco.

¹ In opening this series, to pave the way for a better understanding of future events, Mr. Smith will devote the current issue and the next to a brief résumé of the background of the current international situation.

² The situation concerning naval armaments will be included among other things in the next issue.

Saoka Afred Sze explains China's position in the peace of the world in the August *North American Review*. Japan's present policy is that she shall dominate politically and commercially the Far East, and that

without any considerations of treaty obligations, or respect for the rights of other nations. China, for her part, will never surrender an inch of her territory nor any sovereign rights under stress of military force.

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
HOWARD E. WILSON, *Chairman, Harvard University*

Coöperation between National Council for the Social Studies and Regional Associations. The National Council for the Social Studies desires to coöperate in every fruitful way with as many local and regional associations of social-studies teachers as possible, serving as a sort of clearing house and center of exchange for the work of such associations. It has no intention of attempting to supplant any existing social-studies organization. In order to facilitate increased coöperation the president of the National Council will meet with organizations of social-studies teachers in Superior, Wisconsin, on October 4, in Minneapolis, October 6, in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, October 11, in Kansas City, October 12, and in Springfield, Illinois, October 19. Additional meetings are being arranged for Dallas, Texas, Iowa City, Iowa, and Detroit, Michigan. Other organizations seeking a joint meeting with the National Council for the Social Studies during the coming school year are urged to correspond with any of the officers of the Association. The officers for the current year are:

President: Howard E. Wilson, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

First Vice-President: Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Second Vice-President: R. O. Hughes, Department of Curriculum Research, Public Schools, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Bibliography of Social Studies Volumes. An experimental edition of a *Bibliography* of historical fiction, biography, drama, and books of travel in English, French, and German has been prepared by a group of teachers (Jane E. Browne, Helen M. Célières, Frederick J. Rex, Alice G. Stewart, and Elmina R. Lucke, *Chairman*) at Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University, for the use of "teachers of social studies and foreign languages in senior high schools." Several thousand titles are included in the bibliography; they are classified in four major time divisions beginning with primitive life and ending with the present. Within each division books are classified under the headings:

1. Men Who Have Dominated the World through Politics or Force
2. Men Who Have Thought Deeply and Well
3. Men Who Have Created the Beautiful
4. Men Who Have Broken Nature's Old Controls
5. Men and Supermen
6. Peoples and Places Too Little Known or Understood in the Western World
7. Moments and Movements History Has Called Significant or at Least Interesting.

The traditional classification of books according to literary form has been avoided. No evaluation and relatively little annotation are included in the present mimeographed edition, though it is planned to have book notes, both by pupils and by scholarly and professional reviewers, in the final edition.

The present edition has been issued in limited number and may be secured only by teachers who are willing "to become co-editors to the extent of drawing our attention to errors and omissions and bad judgments." Copies may be secured at \$1.25 each from Miss Elmina R. Lucke, Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

Boston History Teachers Association. The Boston History Teachers Association began publication in the autumn of 1933 of a monthly four-page *Bulletin*. Elizabeth D. Burns and Elizabeth D. Curran serve respectively as editor and associate editor. The *Bulletin* is devoted to professional news of interest to the Association and to summaries of current events of significance to teachers of social studies. The Boston History Teachers Association sponsors a program of regular meetings during each school year.

Nebraska History Teachers' Association. At the April, 1934, meeting of the Nebraska History Teachers' Association, held at the University of Nebraska, the following officers for 1934-35 were elected:

President: Fern McBride, High School, Hastings.

Vice-President: James L. Sellars, Department of History, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Secretary-Treasurer: Jennie Lou Piper, High School, Lincoln.

Consumer Education. The problem of consumer-training in the schools is attracting increasing attention not only in the fields of the social studies and home economics, but also in commercial education. A conference on "Business Education and the Consumer," arranged by the School of Business, University of Chicago, was held in June, 1934. Speakers and topics included: Paul H. Douglas, "Consumer Resources and Incomes"; Joseph Brein, "The Deception of the Consumer"; Henry Harap, "Practical Methods in Consumer Education in the Schools"; Leonard V. Koos, "Consumer Education in Secondary Schools"; Hazel Kyrk, "Types of Information Available to the Consumer"; Leverett S. Lyon, "Economic Organization from the Consumer's Point of View"; James L. Palmer, "The Extent to Which Business Educates the Consumer"; H. G. Shields, "Consumer Education through Social-Business Education"; and W. H. Spencer, "The Recovery Program and the Consumer."

Visual Aids in History Teaching. Photographic History Service (formerly Educational Research Studies, Ltd.) publishes a series of "photographic historical study units" for schools, libraries, and museums. The units are composed of selected and mounted still pictures and lantern slides from motion pictures, together with unit introductions, descriptive texts, and question guides. Units are available on the Pilgrims, American Revolution and the Organization of the Government, Westward Movement, Slave Life and Abraham Lincoln, Frontier Life, Roman Life, Feudal Life, and the French Revolution. A catalogue illustrating and describing each unit may be secured by addressing Photographic History Service, 5537 Hollywood Boulevard, Hollywood, California.

History and World Politics. Elbert D. Thomas, United States Senator from Utah and member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, is the author of "World Unity as Recorded in History," *International Conciliation Pamphlet* No. 297 (February, 1934), published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Senator Thomas urges a "broadening of the field of history writing, teaching, and interpretation—a unitary or world-wide approach," as opposed to the narrow sectional or national approach usually made by the historian. "It means," he says, "a stressing of migrations and the movement of restless people over the world . . . an approach to history through the angle of biology, anthropology, sociology, and psychology." This approach will, he believes, aid in creating the concept of world unity out of which world-wide action on modern problems may come.

J. R. D

Classroom Use of Periodicals. A committee of the National Council for the Social Studies is investigating the use of current periodicals in social-studies classrooms. The members of the committee are Roy A. Price, North High School, Quincy, Massachusetts, *Chairman*; Mrs. Margaret Koch, Fieldston School, New York City; John R. Davey, University High School, Chicago; Julian C. Aldrich, Webster Groves, Missouri; George C. Moseley, Atlanta, Georgia; D. E. Temple, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Elsie Calvin, Newcastle, Pennsylvania; Prudence R. Trimble, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; R. H. Mowbray, Culver, Indiana.

The committee has prepared an unusually significant questionnaire which is being distributed nationally during the current autumn. Its report is to be given at the December meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies to be held in Washington, D.C. Teachers interested in the work of the committee are urged to correspond with its chairman.

Southern California Social Science Association. One of the most active regional organizations of social studies teachers is the Southern California Social Science Association. Its annual meeting in April, 1934, included a general assembly at 9:30 in the morning; sectional meetings from 9:45 to 10:45 on curriculum revision, on the "New Monroe Doctrine," on human

betterment, eugenics, and sterilization, on the teaching of controversial subjects, and on present-day Russia; a general meeting from 10:45 to 12:00; a program luncheon at 12:15; and a "field trip" through the Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Missouri Social Studies Bulletin. The Social Studies Department of the Missouri State Teachers Association issued in the spring of 1934 Volume I, Number 1, of a *Bulletin* devoted to the professional interests of the group. The first issue contains brief articles on "Education for Citizenship," "Scholarship in the Social Sciences," and "Allied Agencies Teach Civic Virtues," and a series of news notes and current comments. The Missouri Association has recently appointed a Committee of Ten, under the chairmanship of Dr. Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri, "to consider the problem of vitalizing the organization of social studies teachers."

Study Guide in Sociology. In connection with his courses at the State Teachers College, Tempe, Arizona, Professor Samuel Burkhard has developed a set of *Problems and Projects in Sociology* for use in an introductory course in sociology. The material was published by the Keystone Press, Tempe, Arizona, early in 1934, and may be secured at a nominal cost. For each of twenty-nine topics (such as Social Research and Techniques, Play and Recreation, Liberalism and Conservatism) a set of leading thought questions is given, followed by a list of references.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Members of the National Council will be glad to learn of its new relation with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The executive committee of the Association in session at Columbia, Missouri, on April 27, approved a plan by which the teachers' section will hereafter be held under the joint auspices of the National Council and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The Council will appoint two members to serve on the committee to arrange the program. The next meeting will be held in Cincinnati during the latter part of April, 1935. The chairman of the teachers' section is Professor Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota, and the two members representing the National Council are Professor Louis A. Tohill, Kent State Teachers College, and Mr. Julian Aldrich, Webster Groves, Missouri.

League of Nations Association Essay Contest. Each school year the League of Nations Association sponsors a competitive examination and essay contest among high-school pupils in the United States. In 1933-34 more than 5,000 pupils from 963 high schools in 48 states entered the contest. First prize, a trip to Europe, was awarded Clela Moody, sixteen-year-old high-school girl at Providence, Kentucky. Second prize, twenty-five dollars, sent to Miss Wardine Norvell, of Manchester, Tennessee. Information concerning the contest can be secured from the League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

Civics of Today. A workbook "for the study of changing community services and organization" of a local, state, and national character has been prepared by Charles H. Seaver and issued by Benj. H. Sanborn and Company of Chicago. The workbook, *Civics of Today*, has sections on Community Life, Public Services, the Organization of Government, Paying for Services, and the National Program. Each of the first four sections is subdivided into a number of topics, and for each topic a wide variety of study activities is given. Section Five contains summaries of the various legislative acts and executive announcements constituting the program of the present administration.

Philosophy for High School Pupils. Teachers who have found an interest in philosophy awakening in pupils from their study of the social studies, particularly ancient history, and who have struggled to find suitable materials to satisfy the interest, will welcome a compilation just completed at Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University. A group of

Readings from Religions and Philosophies of the Ancient World has been selected and edited by Kim Plochman, who began the work while a pupil in Lincoln School, and Elmina R. Lucke, of the Lincoln School faculty. A mimeographed edition of the *Readings* may be secured for one dollar by addressing the Lincoln School.

Illustrated Teaching Units. The F. E. Compton Company, 1000 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, publishes a series of "teaching unit materials" for use in social-studies classes. Each unit contains a reference outline of the topic with which it deals, a statement of the unit objectives, a suggested program of pupil activities, a bibliography, and a folder of illustrative materials, including a variety of mounted pictures and textual explanations. Typical unit titles are: Food in the Community, Indians of the Plains and Eastern Woodlands, Switzerland, Prehistoric Man, and Life in Feudal Society. The cost of each unit is \$3.50.

Book Reviews

Edited by HARRY J. CARMAN AND J. BARTLETT BREBNER, *Columbia University*

In *After the Deluge* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1932), Leonard Woolf, the English writer, whose work ranges from fiction to studies in history and politics, published a most stimulating volume some two years ago. It received relatively little attention in America. Yet, on one account alone it should have attracted the attention of historians and students of history.

"I make the suggestion," writes Woolf, "never, I believe, made before, that the world should be governed by historians!" No matter in what light historians will receive this proposal, it constitutes, especially in this frenzied age, no small flattery. Woolf, however, also makes it clear that he doubts whether most present-day scientific historians would be any more successful at the job of world-government than our benighted politicians and statesmen. Manifestly, the fault does not lie with the historians as persons, but with their approach to history and its methodology.

Mr. Woolf in the introductory section of this volume proposes to establish "the real function of history" as well as "the general rule for a scientific historical method of investigation." It is this phase of his work which is most worthy of consideration at present, rather than a discussion of what may be expected when historians come to rule us, however entertaining such speculation might be. The pages in which he presents his approach to history account for only a small portion of the book. *After the Deluge* is the first of several volumes (the rest yet to appear), designed to explain that catastrophic blunder, the World War. For Woolf, the World War still remains "inexplicable" despite all the labors of our historians. In anticipation

of his critics, he candidly confesses his presumptuousness in attempting such a heroic task. Incidentally, it is worth noting that in the course of his work Mr. Woolf has occasion to make an illuminating analysis of democracy and a significant plea for liberty.

Broadly speaking, Mr. Woolf's approach to history, in contrast to that of the economic determinist, is psychological. This the subtitle of the volume makes clear—"A Study of Communal Psychology." His key to history lies in "the psychology of man as a social animal." At the same time, material forces and economic factors are so amply recognized that Mr. Woolf's thesis and a primarily economic approach to history are not irreconcilable. Nor is there an attempt here simply to restate one of the older spiritual interpretations of history in the terminology of modern psychology. Mr. Woolf in many respects ventures along a path that has been little trodden.

From the viewpoint of causes, he points out, events in human history fall into two broad categories. There are those events whose causes are entirely external to man and his mind; they spring from natural phenomena which lie beyond the realm of man's control. The second class of events are, in varying degrees, man-made. Their causes are within men's minds—they are psychological. Such events would not occur unless "certain human beings thought certain thoughts, desired certain ends, and willed certain acts."

While insisting thus that the causes of historical events (with the exception of natural catastrophes) are to be identified with the thoughts, aims, beliefs and desires of man as a social being, Mr. Woolf recognizes that he has brought about no simplification of

causation. He fully appreciates the complexity—the extraordinary complexity—of those ideas, beliefs, aims and desires which constitute the “content” of social, or, to use his word, communal psychology. They are not only not simple in themselves, but there is at any time, the broadest disagreement as to their meaning. The “strangest and most important fact about communal psychology” is not its complexity, nor the contradictions and inconsistencies existing among its constituent elements. It is the fact that the content of communal psychology “is largely the ideas, beliefs, and aims of the dead.” Here Mr. Woolf must be quoted. “There used to be, and still is in some countries, a law of mortmain or the dead hand under which it is not the living but the dead who determine the use and ownership of property. . . . It requires but little knowledge of history to recognize that there is also a psychological law of the dead hand.”

Men are swayed by and struggle for ideas and ideals and aims and beliefs which they have inherited from the past, which have very often become strangely modified in the process of perpetuation, and which are only too frequently lamentably misunderstood. There is a profound truth in Mr. Woolf's assertion that there can be no real understanding of history without the recognition of the influence exerted by the psychological dead hand. “At every particular moment it is the dead rather than the living who are making history, for politically individuals think dead men's thoughts and pursue dead men's ideals.”

Man adheres to the beliefs and aims of the dead though time, effecting gradual changes, may have stripped them of all meaning. Ideas, regardless of their kind, experience a process of growth and, by virtue of that, modification. These ideas of the past live on most tenaciously—with such strength in fact, that when they come in conflict with new ideas, the product of a new material environment, they usually conquer. Every idea or aim of political, social, economic, religious (or any other) nature that has won wide acceptance at any time is, to a marked extent, under the control of the dead mind. Mr. Woolf does not mean by this simply that the ideas of any particular generation or period serve as a point of departure for the ideas of the next. He points out that what occurs is not a process of selection among the ideas of a previous age and their adaptation to a new environment, but a process of complete acceptance. For example: “The idea of liberty in the mind of a liberal, living, let us say, on November 25, 1880, was determined to a very considerable extent by ideas with regard to liberty which were causing a tremendous turmoil in France on November 25, 1789. French revolutionary ideas of liberty were again largely determined by three writers, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, all of whom were dead in 1789 and whose ideas of liberty contained much which belonged to previous ages rather than to the eighteenth century. . . . But. . . . The liberal of 1880 had made no selection or rejection in the ideas of 1789; he had swallowed them almost whole. He had not digested them or thought them into his own world and time and environment. . . .”

To what point has Mr. Woolf's argument carried him thus far? The primary postulate is that the causes of those historical events which are not outside of man's control are fundamentally psychological. The psychology of man as a social animal is exceptionally complex, and it is a task of the greatest magnitude to isolate those ideas, beliefs, aims and desires of men which make up the content of communal psychology and to determine how they operated as causal factors in certain events. Not only is the content of communal psychology exceedingly obscure, but every element of it is the product of a long history by which the past gets imposed upon the present or future. If this be true, concludes Mr. Woolf, then it is within the grasp of the scientific historian—it is his task in fact—to indicate something of the nature of the future. Not on the basis of the shopworn and abandoned “history-repeats-itself” dictum. But because the historian's knowledge of the past should enable him “to indicate to us the most important among the conflicting currents and movements in communal psychology and even to say to us: ‘If human beings adopt this idea or aim as the basis of their society, the new era will have the following characteristics; if they adopt that belief or aim, it will have the following characteristics.’” Especially now, declares Mr. Woolf, that the man-made cataclysm of the World War has brought one era to a close and is forcing man to strike out on new lines, could the historian, if he were properly equipped, offer some guidance to society for the future.

Clearly enough, Mr. Woolf does not propose to transform our historians into silver-tongued prophets. What he would have them do is to accept another approach—his, of course—to the nature, function and methodology of history.

With his definition of history most present-day historians would agree. Mr. Woolf defines history in terms of man as a social being. History concerns itself “with the past of human beings upon this earth living in communities.” It is not sufficient, however, that history be nothing more than a bald record of human social groupings. Mr. Woolf holds that two theories must be injected into our understanding of history; that of cause and effect and that of progress and regression. History must imply or indicate a “movement and direction” in those events it records. The idea of “civilization” with its related idea of movement—ebb and flow or progress and regression or whatever else it may be called—is, then, a fundamental element in Mr. Woolf's theory of history. Civilization is described as “the mould or matrix in which at any particular time or place a human community imposes upon individual lives an imprint and form.” It takes in not only the complete structure of any organized society, but also that complex of communal traditions, beliefs and ideas which we call its psychology.

The historian who holds that the “matrix” which constitutes any particular civilization delimits to a considerable degree the type of life that an individual may lead, that civilizations differ and change, and that these differences and changes are his primary concern “for they constitute progress and regression,” must

make two assumptions. The first is that only those facts are historical facts which are "part of that change or movement which is the ebb and flow of civilization." The second assumption is that such changes flow from a "very complicated and subtle process of cause and effect." The two elements which compose civilization are the entire structure of organized society and the communal psychology of that society which is, it has been observed, "an intricate mass or tradition, custom, beliefs, passions, ideals," governing social relationships. These two factors mutually interact upon one another so that "the form of society into which a man is born is part cause of his communal psychology, while any change in communal psychology tends to modify the structure of society." Recognition of this point is important, and Mr. Woolf holds that there lies the source responsible for those slow changes that make up the life of any particular civilization. This concept of mutual interaction Mr. Woolf likewise regards as the key to those social and political and economic struggles which mark the record of history. Such struggles are symptomatic of changes which are taking place.

"For each generation the matrix of civilization into which it has been born has been created by the dead, but the community or parts of it may have acquired beliefs and aims incompatible with the customs and institutions into which the dead built their own beliefs and aims." That a conflict will ensue between the old established order and the new psychology is inevitable, and it is likewise clear that the mutual interaction of the two will determine in a large measure the mould of civilization—or, in other words, the nature of the life—of the generations which follow. It is in this double interaction (almost chemical in nature) that there is the key to change that the historian studies.

The study of such historical changes is the study of the movement of civilization. And, says Mr. Woolf, the historian must not only record, he must pass judgment. He must be ready to declare whether particular changes are good or bad, whether they mean a backward or forward movement. Mr. Woolf's historian becomes nothing less than "a scientific investigator of progress and regression in human societies," and his method of investigation will enable him to say something of the present and future as well as of the past. The historian in "dissecting, analyzing, testing the living tissues of society, the organic machinery of civilization . . . can or . . . should be able to tell us a great deal about what nourishes or starves those tissues, about the causes which produce stunted, barren, miserable, or free and generous civilizations." It is a large task which Mr. Woolf gives to the historian, even if he has the courage of his historical assumptions and convictions.

Until Mr. Woolf completes his present work, he should perhaps be spared the assault of critics. One of the best tests of his approach to history will be the success with which he consummates the purpose of his work. With no attempt at full-bodied criticism, and granting Mr. Woolf's premises, there are, however, one or two questions which must be raised. Is an analysis of the tangled web of communal psychology (such as

Mr. Woolf would have it) and of the interaction between the two elements of civilization really within the powers of historians who are no more than mortal? What is to be the yardstick with which the historian is to measure the ebb and flow of civilization? It seems clear that his entire view of the past will be peculiarly colored by the matrix of his particular civilization, just as that "matrix" will determine in part his view of the future. This, by the way, suggests an interesting question. To what degree is the history of any given generation, and those following, influenced by its accepted interpretation of the preceding generations? It appears that the chief difficulties arise in connection with the concept of civilization and its related ideas. What certainty is there that those forces which bring about a backward or forward movement in one civilization will in the case of a different one bring about similar results?

However valid or invalid Mr. Woolf's thesis proves to be in the last analysis, it undoubtedly deserves consideration. It is, meanwhile, an interesting corrective to the current stress upon economic factors and the tendency toward over-objectivity among scientific historians. And in his presentation of the rôle of the dead mind in history, Mr. Woolf places significant emphasis upon a very important point.

HENRY DAVID

New York City

Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance.

By Frederic Chapin Lane. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934. ix, 285. pp. \$3.50.

Historians of the Renaissance should give this book by Frederic Chapin Lane of Johns Hopkins University a warm welcome. It is an honest and competent attempt to describe one of the most important industries at Venice during the city's period of greatest magnificence and of decay. Written on the basis of manuscripts in the public depositories of Venice, the book, which was originally presented as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard, gives all the appearances of being constructed solidly of facts and of being free from the ornamentation of thinly-veiled meanderings of the author's imagination. The result is an illuminating study in realistic economic history that sheds much light on the course of Venice's rise and fall, upon the shipbuilding industry, and upon the life of the common workman. The subject is broad enough to catch the interest of a wide public, but unfortunately the style is such that nearly all but specialists will become discouraged before they reach the end. The author seems so intensely anxious to include all the material which he has found and not to omit a single detail that he fails to develop his theme on the basis of any plan that makes the entire story a progressing, intelligible entity; he fails to make his story hang together.

Dr. Lane begins his book by describing the main types of ships at Venice and continues with chapters concerning famous shipwrights, craft guilds, ship construction, the Arsenal, and timber supplies. These, he follows with several pages of tables and appendices containing ship measurements, statistics of ship-build-

ing, weights, measures, and moneys, and wage scales. For the historian who is less interested in ship-building *per se* than in the light that this particular industry throws upon the general economic order in Venice, the chapters on craft guilds, the private ship-yards, and the Arsenal will be the most stimulating. In considering the ship-building guilds, Dr. Lane shows how different from the general medieval craft guilds and, without saying so, how much like modern trade unions they were. In dealing with ship construction in private yards and in the Arsenal, valuable information is provided concerning the relative importance of private and state enterprise at different periods. In the heydays of Venetian shipping, private yards constructed more tonnage than did the Arsenal; but with the wars against the Turks and with the decline of Venice's carrying trade, the activities of the state, whether they were to construct ships or to provide aid to private enterprise, were greatly developed. The chapter on timber supplies an insight into the far-flung commercial and industrial exploitation of Venetian business.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

Columbia University

In *The Termination of Multipartite Treaties* (New York: Columbia University Press. 321 pp. \$4), Dr. Harold Tobin has examined the writings of publicists and the practice of states from 1648 to the present regarding the termination of multipartite treaties. He has analyzed the effect of war upon every type of treaty, the status of treaties at the close of hostilities, and has discussed at length the termination of multipartite treaties by superseding treaties. In addition to this, he has dealt with termination of treaties by denunciation after notice, the termination of parts of treaties, and conference procedure for bringing treaties to an end.

Dr. Tobin's main conclusion is: "There can probably be no considerable progress in the field of treaties created and revised primarily by diplomatic negotiators rather than by technical experts until there is a greater sense of security between states than exists today. If the time should come when such security has been attained, and it will be safer to use terms in a more precise fashion and to make more detailed provision for the termination of the treaty in the instrument itself, and so when differences of opinion arise between the parties concerning revision, suspension, or termination, these differences may be safely left to such outside bodies as the Assembly of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

This is a doctoral dissertation written in an able manner and is of real value. A very just estimate of the usefulness of the book has been given by Professor Garner in the foreword, in which he writes: "A scientific study such as Mr. Tobin has given us here will be most helpful not only to students, teachers, and text writers, but also to diplomats, foreign office officials, courts of justice, arbitrators, and indeed all persons or organizations who or which have to do with the interpretation or application of treaties."

NATHANIEL P. CLOUGH

Colgate University

Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux. By Stanley Vestal. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1932. Illus.

Warpath. The True Story of the Fighting Sioux Told in a Biography of Chief White Bull. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934. Illus.

Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians. By John H. Segar. Stanley Vestal, ed. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934. Illus.

Indian Justice: A Cherokee Murder Trial at Tahlequah in 1840. By John Howard Payne. Grant Foreman, ed. Harlow Publishing Co., Oklahoma City, 1934. Illus.

The Great Powwow. The Story of the Nashaway Valley in King Philip's War. By Clara Endicott Sears. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934. Illus.

The history of the American Indians has been made known to most historical readers from the standpoint of white historians, who wrote chiefly from the documents left by white man—because these have been the only evidence available. Not many of these writers have been very familiar with Indian customs, attitudes, and standards. Anthropologists have studied Indian civilization, but aside from the fact that most historians of the white race in America are not anthropologists, the anthropologists have not been especially interested in interpreting the events about which white historians write. Therefore authentic new books that interpret events and contacts involving both races from the Indians' point of view are a welcome addition to the literature of American history. The work of Stanley Vestal in recording evidence of this kind that otherwise soon might be lost is valuable to historians as well as interesting to those who like true stories of fighting and adventure.

The lives of the great Sioux chief, Sitting Bull, and of his nephew, Chief White Bull, are based largely upon the testimony of old Indians who knew the men and their exploits, and themselves participated in the events they described. They include the Indian descriptions of two famous frontier fights about which there is no white evidence because there were no white survivors—the Fetterman massacre and Custer's last stand. The life of White Bull is really an autobiography in the third person. As evidence, it is something more than the recollections of an old man because the chief, about 1878, learned to write his own language, wrote up the earlier events of his life and the history of his people while memory of them was still fresh, and continued to take notes on later events; and it was with the aid of this record that he told his story to the author. An appendix gives the "Winter Count," a calendar of the Minniconjou Sioux, 1781-1932, first kept in picture writing on a hide by an old Indian, and later translated and brought down to date by White Bull. Both books give the reader much insight into the life, religion, motives, and thoughts of the Indian horsemen of the northern plains. The style, like the content presented, is clear, forthright, and realistic.

The new edition of the collection of stories by John H. Segar, edited by Stanley Vestal, includes various episodes from Segar's experience at the Cheyenne and

Arapahoe reservation at Darlington, Oklahoma, where he worked and taught the agency Indian school, and later at his own Indian school at Colony. They cover the period from 1872 to the early nineties. Segar was a white man who learned to understand Indians well enough to gain their friendship and to live among them with his family, unprotected by other white men. There are glimpses not only of Indian character, but of the difficulties of Quaker and other Indian agents, the army, and the cattlemen from Texas, during the period when these tribes were beginning to give up their wanderings in the plains; and of the dangers of trying to force the Indians too rapidly to accept the white man's ways; and they are good stories.

John Howard Payne, the actor-manager who wrote the words of "Home, Sweet Home," was interested in the Cherokee Indians, studied them, and intended to write their history. In 1841, while visiting them in the Indian territory shortly after their removal from East of the Mississippi, he attended a trial by jury for murder in a Cherokee court, kept a careful record of the proceedings, and sent it East to be published in the *New York Journal of Commerce*. *Indian Justice* is a reprint of these articles with notes, and an introduction. A perusal of this record confirms the editor's statement that these Indians were "well on the road from a primitive life to a high state of civilization."

The Great Powwow, going back to a much earlier period, is about King Philip's War in New England, with chapters on the character, habits, and religion of the New England Indians, and the attempts to Christianize them, as well as about the war. The point of view is sympathetic with the Indians—and not with the Puritans. There is much interesting material related in a diffuse conversational style which is often infelicitous. There are long extracts from Charlevoix and other contemporaries without specific citations, along with such casual references to secondary works as one to what Hart says in "his book, *The American Nation*" (p. 43). There is no bibliography or index. It is evidently a book intended for the general reader.

DONALD L. McMURRY

Hanover, Conn.

Pioneering for Peace. By Hebe Spaul. Macmillan Co., New York, 1931. 152 pp. Eight illustrations.

Few books, suitable for both high-school students and adults, can rival this one in its interesting, sane treatment of one of the vital developments of the twentieth century. Its strength lies in its thoroughly modern method of treating an educational theme in the social sciences; skillful use of a combination of the biographical, topical, and case or "problem" methods shows an appreciation of the psychological problems involved. Numerous specific personal details add a human touch; humor, pathos, and tragedy enter. In a subtle, charming way the reader is kept interested until, before he seems aware of it, he has finished reading the book. The spirit of adventure, so characteristic of all pioneers, pervades and inspires the pages throughout the book; it is adventure, however, on such twen-

tieth-century frontiers as the frontier of typhus, of slavery and of peace.

The book is not propaganda, nor does it describe visionary, will-o-the-wisp dreams; instead, it narrates in clear, simple language how great men have labored in specific cases to avert war, or have made sacrifices to further common world interests. Such interests will tend to cause peoples to regard nothing less than humanity as the working integer.

The story of the lives of such leaders as Grotius, Wilson, Smuts, Cecil, Nansen, Briand, Stresemann, and Benes, is skillfully woven into the narrative. Chapters are devoted to the following subjects: Grotius and the formation of the League of Nations; settling the Greco-Bulgarian border dispute in 1925; the fall of Smyrna in 1922 and Nansen's remarkable work with the Greek refugees; Russian and Armenian refugees and their relief; control of narcotics; the abolition of slavery and forced labor in Asia and Africa; and the work of the Health Section of the League of Nations.

The reader gains an excellent picture of various phases of work of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. Hebe Spaul has written a pioneer book in a field where others are bound to follow in increasing numbers.

A. T. VOLWILER

Ohio University

International Organization. By Harold M. Vinacke, F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1934. 483 pp.

Harold M. Vinacke of the University of Cincinnati has written a well-planned and clear-cut analytical work on international organization, as distinguished from international law on the one hand and international politics on the other. Without attempting to "give a detailed account of the work performed by the manifold organs of international society," he has pursued the fixed purpose of "determining the nature and extent of the contemporary organization of the society of states." His method of procedure is based on the "conception that international society, viewed politically, has the same needs to satisfy as national society." Successive consideration of the governmental functions of legislation, adjudication, execution and administration is the framework for his analogy between national and international organization.

Two main conclusions to the study are discernible as each topic is approached historically and comparatively: (1) that international society has no organized government comparable to national government, although by one means or another various international organizations have attempted to meet the needs satisfied by the legislature, the executive authority and the courts, in the national arena; and (2) that the greatest advantage of the League of Nations form of organization over that of the non-political unions—such as the Postal Union and the Telegraphic Union—and over the non-League conference form of negotiation lies in the continuity of the League organs, above all of the permanent international civil service unit known as the League of Nations Secretariat.

Even the League, which of all the experiments in

international organization is the most comprehensive in scope and the most varied in function, has not the power to establish a legislature whose enactments are unqualifiedly binding, a judiciary of compulsory jurisdiction, and an executive branch with real authority to enforce legislative and judicial decrees. It is a plan of organization, not a government. It merely makes available, for use to the extent which national governments deem advisable, the usual governmental organs. Its whole existence depends upon the principle of voluntary association.

Of the four governmental functions—legislation, execution, adjudication, and administration—that of administration is most effectively performed in the international sphere. Organization has not fundamentally altered the processes of building the Law of Nations. The slow development of customary law has been somewhat hastened by the League stimulus to frequent conferences and the multiplication of treaties between states, but no new method of international law-making is in practice. No international legislature with power to bind the nations or their individual citizens has been established. Neither is any international court equipped with indisputable jurisdiction and a comprehensive body of law, two indispensables to juristic prestige. The weakest of the four branches of international organization is the executive, although, in state governments, the effectiveness of the others depends upon the executive. International court decisions are mere opinions; "self help" is still the possible resort of any state which feels like taking a gamble by trying its military strength against the pronounced judgment. Whatever "legislation" may be agreed upon by delegates of nations relies for enforcement upon national executives, although, in the narrow field of the administration of certain League responsibilities derived from the Versailles Treaty, certain executive Commissions are empowered to act with finality.

League of Nations activity "is directed not towards governing the world, or even the League members, but towards bringing states into constant touch with one another in the hope that systematic contact will enable them to legislate for themselves as the need arises and comes to be recognized." The secretariat is the most efficient channel for the maintenance of this "systematic contact," and, through its international civil service personnel, is best qualified to serve the first purpose of the League as stated in the League Covenant: "promoting a common or coöperative consideration of the problems of international life." Mr. Vinacke says that the prominence given this function of the League—the function of preserving peace being mentioned second—is "formal recognition of the fact that the road to peace is the way of coöperative solution of international problems. This, in turn, involves the international approach, the elevation of the international above the national point of view."

In purpose and functions, the League Secretariat is related to the series of international administrative "Unions"—such as the Postal Union, the Telegraphic Union, the Sugar Union, etc. Through these unions, "the development—or fixation—of international standards for national action has proceeded parallel with

the integration of the world through the application of steam power to transportation and industry." Practically all of them have been established since 1850. The League Secretariat has not attempted to supplant the pre-existing administrative unions, nor has it made progress in the execution of the League's program of assuming the direction of all international bureaus. The Secretariat maintains contact with such agencies, issues a *Handbook of International Organizations*, and serves in the preparation of data and agenda for conferences of non-League as well as League international administration organizations. Among the League organizations so served are the Health Organization, the Labor Organization and the Transit Organization. The Legal Section of the Secretariat has, since 1920, published 130 volumes of new treaties.

To enumerate the instances, both pre-League and current, with which the discussion of the functions of international organization are illustrated, would be to rewrite the book. Mr. Vinacke has not undertaken to challenge or defend the political desirability of the League, nor to probe the methods and motives of its founding. The basic assumptions of his book are that international organization is necessary, and that it has been expanding in scope with the growth of the economic interdependence of nations and their individual realization that national interests are most economically and satisfactorily promoted through international consideration of mutual interests, followed by national execution of policies agreed.

The typography of the book is excellent; the bold face paragraph headings are decidedly helpful whether the reader wishes to follow the entire main argument or to discover reference topics quickly. The author believes that the insertion of bibliographical aids as footnotes, opportunely placed, is preferable to placing them at the ends of chapters or in an appendix.

MARJORIE MCGILLICUDDY

New York City

Building Citizenship. By R. O. Hughes. Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1933. xxv + 709 pp. + 39pp.

In this day and age of rapidly shifting social values the author of a book on civics is faced with the serious problem of presenting a book which will be useful for any very great length of time. But he is not alone in his misery. The authors on economics and contemporary history are likewise puzzled. Written almost a year ago, Mr. Hughes' *Building Citizenship* was then the best book available, but already the flow of events has rendered it in part obsolescent. One example will suffice: the copy of the Constitution which is appended to the text lacks the Twenty-First Amendment, the passage of which has raised a new series of civic problems. While the author has tried admirably to so arrange his book as to provide for an approaching change in the basic social order (Not Revolution!), the provision has not been adequate to the eventuality. One rather interesting little note may be made of the title to the illustration on page 588, which shows a boy feeding two bears on a dude ranch, and bears the caption "Do you think running a dude ranch is a socially justifiable occupation?" I can't imagine

a caption like that being educationally acceptable a decade ago. The work is comprehensive in its scope, and the style is clear and direct. The illustrations are distinctly above the average for such works, and are chosen from a wide field of human experiences. Aside from the one criticism which I have made, it is a very useful and worthwhile publication.

HOWARD BRITTON MORRIS

College of the City of New York

Historical Material. By Lucy Maynard Salmon. Oxford University Press, New York. 1933. 252 pp. ix. \$2.50.

In these latter days of vastly increased historical knowledge, the true historian is much less willing to attempt an exact definition of history than he was in the classical days of Carlyle and Froude. That the present generation of historians are not agreed upon the nature of history, does not presuppose (as some claim) that there is no such thing as history. This posthumously published work of Miss Salmon in some aspects approximates the subject matter of Dr. Beard's address at the last meeting of the American Historical Association, but its purpose and treatment are different. *Historical Material* is a work which should be consulted by every student who expects to become either a teacher of history, or an historian. Langland and Seignobos gave us a work on the methods of history and historical criticism. The work at present under review should be used in conjunction with the French work, in order that the student may fully appreciate the many ramifications, other than those purely political, which constitute the record of history. The footnotes, particularly in the chapter of the Record of Language, are in themselves almost a liberal education. The four separate papers which constitute the second half of the volume are of less interest than the first nine chapters, but this should not be taken as a condemnation thereof. It is to be regretted that the author did not live to complete the additional five chapters which were originally projected.

HOWARD BRITTON MORRIS

College of the City of New York

My Battle. By Adolf Hitler. Abridged and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1933. x, 297 pp. \$3.00.

This is one of the most significant books ever written by an ambitious politician. It is the Bible of the National Socialists. It is the guide for the rulers of Germany today.

The book is divided into two parts. The first, written in 1924, while Hitler was serving a prison term for his unsuccessful *putsch* in Munich in 1923, deals with the author's early life. The second part, written in 1927, presents Hitler's views on contemporary problems. From the initial section of the volume, one gets a picture of the young Adolf's life in Vienna, the gradual formation of his attitudes toward Jews, Marxism, trade-unionism, and parliamentary government, and his experiences during the War, the Revolution of

1918, and the formation of the National Socialist Party.

The second part of the book has considerable detail concerning Hitler's political ideas and convictions—material that is familiar to all because of the publicity given to Hitler's policies. Of this part of the volume, much criticism has been made on the grounds that the translator has omitted statements that might be offensive to Americans and Englishmen. For these reasons, certain critics maintain that *My Battle* is of little value. The reviewers do not agree with this opinion. They admit that one misses a definition of what Hitler means by Marxism and by Aryan, but the original is no better. The fundamentals of socialist theory are discussed neither in the English nor in the German version. A longer treatment of the Jewish question in the translation might have been of interest, but enough has been included to leave the reader in no doubt concerning Hitler's opinions of the Jew. The statement of the American publishers, that all of the sentiments and ideals of government expressed by the author in the final complete German edition are included in the English version, may be accepted as accurate. Of great significance in the latter part of the book is his foreign policy—a phase of Hitler's program that is less well-known than his Anti-Semitism.

In connection with propaganda in Germany in favour of South Tyrol, Hitler writes on page 269: "It must be thoroughly understood that the lost lands will never be won back by solemn appeals to the Good God, nor by pious hopes in any League of Nations, but only by force of arms." Such a statement explains a great deal. It explains in part Mussolini's opposition to Nazi control of Austria. It is also a partial explanation of the German insistence on general disarmament, or rearmament of Germany.

The chapter on "Eastern Policy," in which Hitler advocates conquering land from Russia, is illuminating. In his opinion the colonial policy of pre-war Germany was a mistake. The German peasant needs land. The logical place for Germany to expand is not overseas, but to the East. "We stem the Germanic stream towards the south and west of Europe, and turn our eyes eastwards. We have finished with the pre-war policy of colonies and trade, and are going over to the land policy of the future.

"When we talk of new lands in Europe, we are bound to think first of Russia and her border states."

How does Hitler intend to achieve this land policy of the future? He answers this question in plain language. "No nation on earth holds a square yard of territory by any right derived from Heaven. Frontiers are made and altered by human agency alone. . . .

"Therefore, just as our forefathers did not receive the land in which we live as a present from Heaven, but had to fight with their lives for it, so in the future nothing will grant us land and life for our nation, except the power of a victorious sword." Hitler has never repudiated these statements. It may, therefore, be comprehensible that some persons regard his peace declarations of the last few months with considerable scepticism.

To the reviewers, the first paragraph of *My Battle*

is one of the most interesting and most significant in the entire book. Hitler writes, "It stands me in good stead today that Fate decided that Braunau on the Inn should be my birthplace. That little town lies on the frontier between the two German States, the reunion of which we younger ones regard as a work worthy of accomplishment by all the means in our power." Hitler begins his autobiography with the *Anschluss* question. The union of Austria and Germany is a permanent aim of his foreign policy. He will never renounce Austria.

It is impossible to discuss National Socialism intelligently and to understand the European situation today unless one is acquainted with *My Battle*. When it first appeared in the German, it was taken seriously by only ardent National Socialists and faithful followers of Hitler. Within a very short space of time, Hitler has, with ruthless determination, effected many of his ideas in domestic politics. There is no reason to believe that he is any less determined to accomplish also his foreign political aims.

NATHANIEL P. CLOUGH

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SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

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International Politics. By Frederick L. Schuman. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1933. xxi, 922 pp.

The study of contemporary problems may be approached from several angles. There is, first, the study of "international relations," which has its strongest appeal for the student of history. Its method, for the most part, is chronological; its aim is to carry history to the immediate present. Again, the legal entanglements to which present day complexities give rise offer another aspect, termed "international law." The technicalities it conjures up, together with its seeming lack of realism for extra-legal forces—nationalism, imperialism, etc., have not made it "popular" with idealists, pacifists, and women's peace societies. Finally, some writers have viewed the problem as one of "international organization," suggestive of international government. Not a few of them have attempted to split it into that trilogy familiar to students of American government—executive, judicial, and legislative—with a liberal trimming of concepts peculiar only to the international field. The specialized literature of political science, including the textbooks, has only served to sharpen the distinctions mentioned, and in so doing, has given distressing evidence of the inability of most of the writers to synthesize the field.

In the belief that there is a unity in all the multiplicity of the international maze, Professor Schuman has written this encyclopedic work. The first section is devoted to Origins—the emergence and evolution of the Western State System. He does more than recount the "system" of modern times; he takes the reader to the ancient world and analyzes its political organization. The second section, Forms, treats of public international law, diplomatic practices, the set-

tlement of international disputes and public international organization. Under the heading of Forces the topics of nationalism, imperialism, foreign policies of the Great Powers, and the politics of power are discussed. Scattered throughout the many pages, and included in the appendix, are charts, statistical tables, and typical international documents to make more comprehensible the intricacies of the subject.

The capable analysis that characterizes the body of the book is carried through to the last section, Prospects, where the author indulges in some acute observations concerning the course of events in the near future. The Western State System has passed through the feudal age and the age of national monarchies into that where the bourgeoisie are in power. But already the social barometer is registering the source of the next change—the proletariat. Contemporaneous with this shift in social power is another phenomenon of the present political order—the absence of political unification among its members. The forces flowing from this nationalistic trend are bringing the world to a point where States "must either stand united to deal with the perils which threaten them, or fall divided in a chaotic welter of competition and conflict." Poised at this critical juncture of world history, the author proceeds to examine the exits from this chaos. On the "left" (sic) stand the Socialists and the Communists, the former committed to action through the ballot, the latter to revolutionary violence. The events of the last year have marked the eclipse of the Socialists (at least for a time); and the Bolsheviks are more concerned with internal questions in Russia. On the other extreme, the "right," are arrayed those individuals looking to education and reform to achieve world unity—the evolutionary concept. But in a world saturated with nationalism it becomes increasingly difficult to seek an escape along that path.

In the light of these alternatives the situation appears hopeless. Immediate action is imperative to check the destructive forces at work. "Economic planning" and "international government" are phrases which suggest the requisite roads to salvation whereby the dilemma may be averted. Both imply the organization of technical knowledge and socially directed intelligence for the rational solution of the problems. . . . But "whether a transformation of established . . . institutions can be achieved by consciously directed effort is not yet clear." It is more than possible, says Professor Schuman, that the decades between 1935 and 1955 will see the decisive struggle. All that is certain is the stress that will mark the change—unless there is a quick perception of the impending catastrophe, and quicker action to avert it, by the dominant middle-class group.

Mr. Schuman should be congratulated upon pioneering in the field of a composite presentation of international politics. Whatever deficiencies the tome has, may be charged up to the novelty of the experiment. He has, at least, suggested a fresh approach to an understanding of the forces at work in the field of the international order.

ALBERT C. F. WESTPHAL

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The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844. By Gilbert Hobbs Barnes. D. Appleton-Century Company. New York, 1933. ix+298 pp. Sponsored by the American Historical Association.

From the conventional and orthodox textbook on American History the average student derives the impression that the movement for the abolition of slavery was a thing of New England, and seldom does he discern that the period of the 30's and 40's were of as great importance as the more spectacular 50's. That this implication by Professor Barnes is substantially correct may be shown by the written opinion of 221 of my college students, of whom 168 were freshmen, 52 were sophomores or juniors, and only 2 were seniors. Of this whole group, 117 gave New England as the home and citadel of abolition, whereas the scattering of other votes gave the Middle West as a poor second (38 votes). In view of this situation, the re-evaluation by Professor Barnes is particularly desirable. The author has clearly summarized the nature of the abolition movement in the Middle West in a very excellent paragraph on page 25, which I would like to quote, were I not restricted (nay, intimidated) by the little note of admonition placed on p. iv by a caution published anent the matter of reproduction of material in any form. That the economic determination of history is less emphasized than such factors as the purely spiritual is significant in view of the fact that the author is an economist. The American Historical Association has good reason to be proud of this particular contribution to historical literature. In less able hands, the subject of the *Anti-Slavery Impulse* might have become unreadable, but the present volume under review has a distinctly pleasant literary style. It is liberally annotated. From the point of view of the general reader the device of placing the notes in a sort of appendix is doubtless a great improvement, as he is spared the agony of footnotes, but to those of the historical profession who are interested in the subject matter of the said notes, it is rather awkward to find one's self compelled to skip backwards and forwards as though engaged in a game of intellectual hop-sotch. Other criticisms the reviewer has none. The book is worth while as a reference work and should be a part of the library of every teacher of American History.

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Book Notes

Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities (N.Y., Ray Long and Richard Smith, 1932, pp. ix, 146) consists of the Report of the Committee on the Planning of Research set up by the American Historical Association in December, 1930, preceded by an introduction by J. Franklin Jameson and followed by a series of reports based on conclusions reached by groups of specialists who, at the request of the Committee on Research, held conferences in ancient history, medieval history, modern European history and American history. To each of these conferences was submitted agenda seeking information

on the present trends and neglected areas in research; the enlargement, improvement and preservation of materials; the development of research personnel; the improvement of research methods and organization; publication problems; and financial needs for the promotion of research. It seems unprofitable to attempt to summarize still further the findings already given in compressed form by the Committee. Some of its recommendations are intended primarily for the Council of the Historical Association or for those who have in charge the administration of departments of history. But the soldier in the ranks will be interested in the lists of subjects in various fields still needing investigation, in the emphasis placed on the desirability of improving the style of historical writing and the manner of book-reviewing in America, in the remarks on the proper character of doctoral examinations and doctoral dissertations, on the publication of the latter and on a number of similar problems that are of standing concern to our profession. An inquest of this kind constitutes a mirror of opinion and practice for which the future student of historiography may well be grateful. It may also lead to distinct improvement in the research work of our own day. It would be a pleasure to see a similar study, prepared by equally distinguished scholars, of the needs and opportunities in the teaching of history in America.—T. P. PEARDON.

Conflicts of Principle, by A. Lawrence Lowell (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1932, pp. vi, 161), was written to demonstrate a proposition not, indeed, wholly novel but certainly worth emphasis. Discussion of great problems, the author's argument runs, too often concentrates on the clash between abstract principles considered as if they must be either absolutely true or absolutely false. In reality such opposite principles are often "conjugate" in character, that is, partly true and partly false or true under certain conditions and false under others. The real task of discussion in these cases is to determine the limits within which each of two opposite points of view may properly be applied. This thesis President Lowell illustrates by examples from no less than thirteen fields ranging from economics, through politics, law, education and personal life, to the teachings of Christ. The illustrations are sufficient to make the author's point clear, and this is perhaps all one ought to ask from such a book. But many readers will probably feel that the argument would be more satisfactorily sustained by a closer analysis of fewer "conflicts."—T. P. PEARDON.

In the series of Government Handbooks under the editorship of Professors D. P. Barrows and T. H. Reed, appears *Government and Politics of Italy*, by Henry Russell Spencer (World Book Co., Yonkers, N.Y., 1932. xii, 307 pp.). This book on Italy comes to fill an obvious gap. It is eminently worthy of a place with the other books in the collection and will be found useful to students of modern European governments and of Italy.

The author begins his study with a general con-

sideration of the country with which he is dealing and continues with a brief survey of Italian political history. His main story gets under way with Fascism and it is thus to the recent government that he devotes his attention. The treatment of Fascist institutions is sound, but not detailed enough to teach the specialist anything new. It is to be regretted that a more minute treatment is not given of the economic phases of the functioning of the corporate state. For the uninitiated the book is highly valuable. It is to be welcomed by all political scientists.—SHEPARD B. CLOUGH.

When the Covenant of the League of Nations was submitted to the world for approval it was generally assumed, for a short time at least, that a new era of internationalism was about to dawn upon a hitherto exceedingly troubled mankind. The delusion lasted longer in some quarters than in others, but even after the realization of the truth had penetrated the thickest of the diplomatic skulls it appeared expedient to continue lip service to the ideal of internationalism. Then came the Depression, and in the ensuing struggle to preserve what was left of world markets it was suddenly discovered that divers among the nations had more or less secretly undertaken the novel policy of economic nationalism. What will be the rôle of America in this new era of international relations? Mr. Samuel Crowther has fervently wrapped himself in a copy of Washington's Farewell Address and dedicated himself to the intriguing proposition that you can fool all of the people if you quote enough figures. The present work under review (*America Self-Contained*. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, New York, 1933. 340 pp.) is obviously propaganda and is based upon the old cry of the Imperialists—that of making the nation self-sufficient. (Only the argument here is not for colonies, but for economic isolation.) But there lurks in one's mind the thought that the last war showed rather conclusively that no nation is or can be self-sufficient. While the book might be convincing to any rugged individualist who voted for the White Elephant in the last election, there is the rather obvious difficulty that although Mr. Crowther tells us a dozen ways that we can consume at home all we produce, he provides no way for synchronizing production and distribution. But let us not be overcritical. The book is nicely bound, as Eugene Field would have said, and the jacket cover is positively chauvinistic.—H. B. M.

The early death of Professor W. T. Waugh of McGill University is a sad loss to historical scholarship. One of his latest works, *A History of Europe from 1378 to 1449* (Putnam, New York, 1932. xii, pp. 545. \$6.50) reveals his powers at their full tide. Professor Waugh tells the confused story of the closing centuries of the Middle Ages with rare skill and sound judgment. The style is vigorous and entertaining. Professor Waugh has introduced new points of view and fresh judgments in his interpretation of many of the more familiar themes and events. The section dealing with the influence of the Anglo-French quarrel on the crisis in the Church is especially good. Some of his opinions about the character of the so-called Renais-

sance are debatable, particularly his treatment of architecture in that period.

The International Committee of Historical Sciences have issued two more volumes of *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* (Third Year, 1928; Fourth Year, 1929. H. W. Wilson Co., New York, 1933. cvii, pp. 459; cvii, pp. 495). These volumes survey a vast field of books and magazines in many languages, including frequent references to reviews. It is a pity that some technique cannot be worked out whereby the yearly volumes will appear sooner and no later than two years from the date of their publication.

E. P. Dutton of New York have published an advanced manual on the geography of *Southern Europe* by M. I. Newbigin (New York, 1933. xvi, pp. 428. \$4.50). Its pages are crowded with illuminating details and are especially rich in the discussions of topics usually abridged or neglected in other manuals. It is a book to study and to ponder, though eminently readable. The sections on new Italian territory, Albania, and Greece are noteworthy.

Ginn and Company have recently published several excellent aids for the general High School course in the origins of Contemporary Civilization. The basic book is *Directed Study Guide in the Origins of Contemporary Civilization* by Alice N. Gibbons (Ginn and Company, New York, 1934. viii, pp. 255. \$.80). She has also issued a *Teacher's Manual, Including a Key to the Test Book* (New York, 1934. iv, pp. 75. \$.28) and a *Test Book* (New York, 1934. iv, pp. 92 and maps. \$.44). All three studies have been done with a care, thoroughness, and excellence rare in books of this character. Their moderate price makes them especially attractive.

Katherine Mayo, who a few years ago startled the world with her *Mother India*, aims with her recently published *Soldiers—What Next!* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934, p. xvi, 568, \$3.50) to startle America into a realization of its failure to do justice to its war veterans. She traces veteran legislation and administration since the War in America, England, France, Germany and Italy and comes to the conclusion that the United States has done the worst job of all in caring for its former fighters. Although in the year 1931-32 America spent more on its veterans for the same purposes than did France, Germany and the United Kingdom combined, it expended it lavishly on ex-service men, many of whom never left the homeland, and neglected the men who had actually suffered from the horrors of modern conflict. The fault, if judgment is based on the text, may be placed partially at the door of the American Legion Lobby. But Mrs. Mayo would not stop there. In a parable in her concluding chapter, she places the blame upon our system of government—upon a drugged political country.

The book is meant to startle the land and to stop our wasteful veteran spending. It is a highly informative

work, not only concerning our practices but also those of our leading European Allies.—S. B. C.

26 July, 1934

To the Editor:

I am pleased to see the favorable notice of *Social Reformers, Adam Smith to John Dewey*, which was reviewed in *The Social Studies* for May. The criticisms of the reviewer are good-natured and for the most part suggestive. But one statement is obviously quite wrong. The bibliographies, he says, "should not have excluded foreign titles. Writers of college texts make the error of not encouraging their readers to attempt books in other than their native tongue." I thoroughly agree with the latter statement, but it happens that 38 out of some 210 items mentioned in the bibliographies of *Social Reformers* are foreign titles—French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

Since the bibliographies are an important feature of a book of this kind I shall be grateful if you print this correction.

Yours faithfully,
DONALD O. WAGNER

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"Hitler's Trail Over Europe." By Robert Machray. *The Fortnightly Review* for June. Herr Hitler's foreign policy continues, despite his conciliatory gestures, to excite alarm among the neighbours of Germany and to render more and more difficult the return of Europe to anything even approaching equilibrium. The public generally associates the apprehension and instability which menace peace in the growing rearmament of the Reich. This growth of Germany's rearmament is now a fact obvious to all and is generally seen to be the instrument of foreign policy, as indeed it is meant to be considered. Hitler's foreign policy has two sides; one more or less open to the world is directed through channels of diplomacy. The other is secret. It is seen publicly only in the effects materializing from time to time in various countries. It is directed largely by Foreign Minister Alfred Rosenberg, whose strength lies in his knowledge of the Baltic situation. Here may be recognized a new field for an old policy—Pan-Germanism. While as yet nothing has been openly achieved in reducing the Baltic States to the position of allies of the Reich, yet there is no denying that the sentiment persists that these states belong logically to Germany and must be brought into closer contact with the Third Reich.

George E. Sokolsky, writing in the August *Atlantic* on "Labor's Fight for Power," insists that the American Federation of Labor must not work for causes that might fail, but that they must limit themselves to practical cures in which the capitalists themselves might join as they actually have done since the turn of the twentieth century. The theory of the vested interest of the laborer in his job explains the Federation's policy of violent opposition to immigration. Such policies are deterrents to the solution of special problems in par-

ticular industries, and the fact that the Federation has never appealed to the highest type of workman further complicates the situation.

The June issue of the *Contemporary Review* contains among other articles of especial interest to historians, Prof. A. Zimmern's analysis of "Europe and Ourselves." Ourselves in this case is England, and England's fundamental international question is whether or not she should pledge herself to secure the observation of a general European treaty, which would include the limitation, control, and perhaps the reduction of armaments. If there is no general European treaty, then the observance of existing treaties would be by force, not by consent. The result would not necessarily be war, but it would be a situation beyond the control of statesmanship. Since 1920, external forces have been pulling in opposite directions: if England is too closely involved with the Continent, she runs the risk of losing touch with the United States and Canada; if she ignores Continental affairs, she jeopardizes her own vital interests. One Continental group stands for peace in external relations and democracy based on law; another sponsors dictatorships; still another group, being unstable, offers an easy opportunity for intrigues of Power politics. The only way peace can be ensured in Europe is through a collective system centering about democratic and peace-loving peoples.

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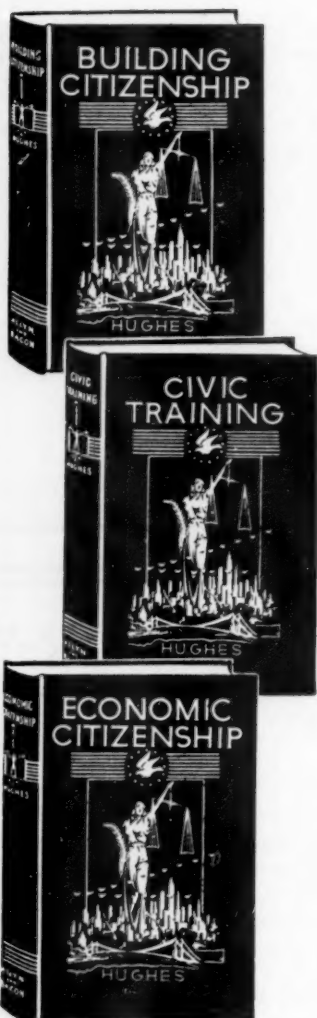
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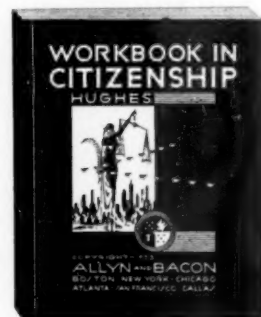
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